MADRAS Information

JULY - 1964

PRICE - 20 PAISE

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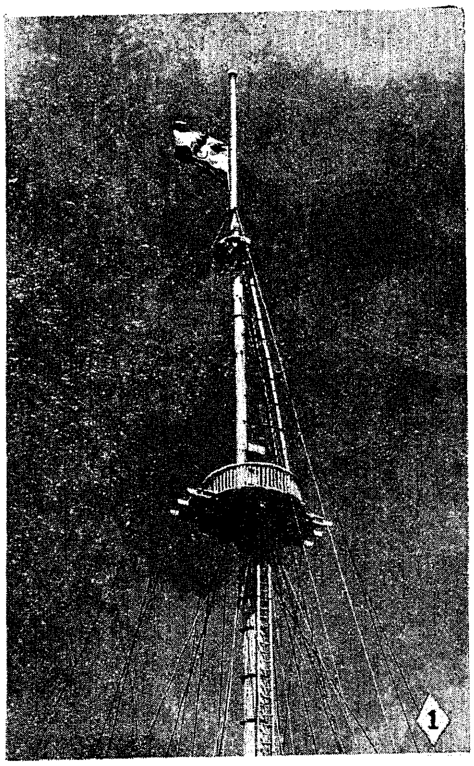
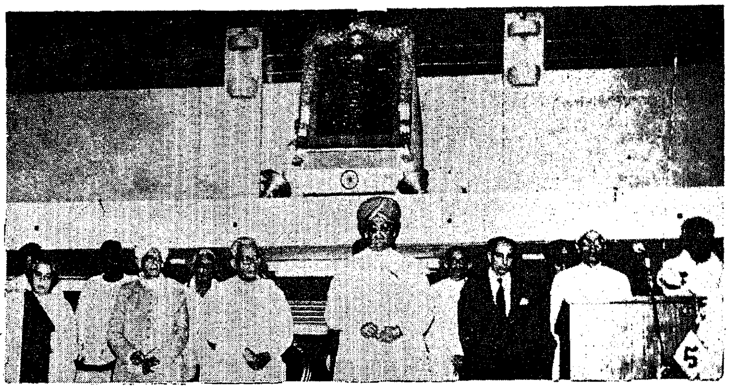
How Madras Received News Of Nehru's Passing Away





1. The national flag in the Fort St. George, flying half mast
2. Grief stricken people are eagerly waiting in front of Newspaper offices
3. Madras Cabinet passed a condolence resolution at the Chief Minister's Residence on 27th May 1964
4. A view of the All-party procession started from Rajaji Hall and met at Tilak Ghat, Marina Beach to mourn the demise of Sri Nehru
5. The Governor and Chief Minister of Madras at the public meeting convened by the Sheriff of Madras to condole the death of Sri Nehru on 6th June 1964

No price is Too High To Pay for Freedom

CITIZEN'S DUTIES

1. To render all possible help and assistance for the defence personnel.
2. To increase the production of his factory.
3. To intensify efforts for increased production of agricultural and small-scale industrial commodities to make his State self-sufficient.
4. To avoid all strikes and lock-outs that may hamper production.
5. To maintain the price level of all essential commodities and curb the tendencies of hoarding and profiteering by conforming to the various legislative and other popular measures.
6. To maintain the supply lines of essential commodities.
7. To contribute generously in the form of money and gold for the war effort.
8. To inculcate the highest sence of duty and responsibility.
9. To join the various organizations set up for the defence of the country.
10. To prevent anti-social and anti-national activities of the fifth columnists.
11. To observe strict austerity in consumption of food, clothes and other essential goods and save for the National Defence Fund.
12. To avoid unnecessary travel so that more important and essential movement may not be hampered.
13. To keep up the morale of the people and prepare them for sacrifices.
14. To check rumour-mongering and to disseminate true and faithful news and information.
15. To join or help Citizens' Committee, N.C.C., Territorial Army and Lok Sahayak Sena and Rifle Clubs.
16. To pray for the victory of our Motherland in this struggle and set aside all differences of caste, creed or party.

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Madras Information

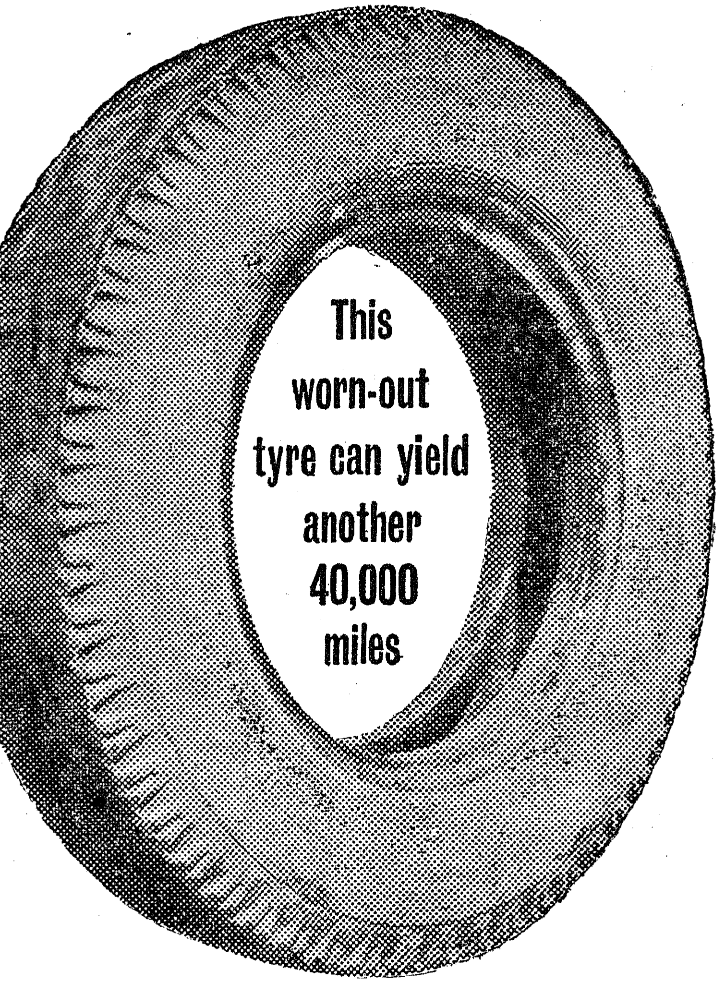
Volume XVII JULY 1964 No. 7

CONTENTS

		PAGE
1.	A Dedicated Life	5
2.	The Jewel of India—Mahatma Gandhi	9
3.	Great Leader of Men—Dr. Rajendra Prasad	12
4.	A Clean Fighter—Sardar Patel	14
5.	Nehru the Socialist—Narendra Deva	17
6.	A Model for Youths—Aruna Asaf Ali	20
7.	Nehru and India—Asoka Mehta	21
8.	Nehru and the Five Year Plans—Tarlok Singh	24
9.	Nehru on Cinema	32
10.	An Architect of Planning	37
11.	Disarmament or Disaster-Choice before world—Sri Jawaharlal Nehru	39
12.	Nehru as the Journalist	41
13.	"We will work for the ideal she cherished"—Dr. Radhakrishnan	42
14.	Sri Nanda's Tribute	44
15.	Govt's Tribute	45
16.	World's Tribute	47
17.	Jottings from Jawaharlal	53
18.	His will and Testament	57
19.	New Prime Minister—A Profile	59
20.	A Chronology of Nehru's life	64

THIS MONTH'S COVER

Jawaharlal Nehru will take his rank among the immortals in history who had changed the destiny of the nations in which they were born. The India of to-day is largely Jawaharlal's creation. He changed the thought and outlook of a whole nation within the course of twenty years. He was scrupulously careful about the path he trod as about the goals he prescribed. He blended the ethical and spiritual values of India with the dynamic material values of the scientific and technological West. He quickened life and activity in all spheres and thus regenerated the country. At home India marched in step towards new horizons. Abroad, he made India an important member in the comity of nations. India of tomorrow and ever after wards will remember him as one of its greatest benefactors,



When a bus or lorry tyre wears out the additional milage that it can yield depends on the quality of the retread. Scientific retreading by TVS permits the tyre to be retreaded over and over again. You may get as many as 40,000 miles.

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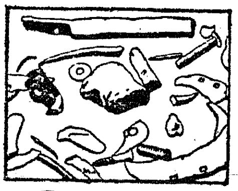
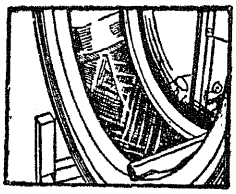


TVS strengthen the casing

Injuries are repaired and the casing is strengthened so that the tyre may be retreaded over and over again.



TVS retreads are tested and proved in Southern Roadways' fleet operating on 3.2 crore bus and lorry miles every year. TVS retreads yield you cumulatively more miles per tyre and hence more tyre miles per rupee.

TVS are the largest retreaders in India

SUNDARAM INDUSTRIES PRIVATE LIMITED
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HISTORY'S BLACKEST WEDNESDAY

It was history's blackest Wednesday (May 27th 1964). As the clock struck two, death snatched away the darling of millions, Jawaharlal Nehru.

Seven top doctors battled in vain for eight hours, but the eyes which had closed at six in the morning never opened again.

The Prime Minister had brought on the day before, rose plants—and a red rose always adorned his buttonhole—from Dehra Dun for his personal garden. Alas, he shall never see them bloom !

"WE ARE ON TRIAL"

"Now, even if you commit a small mistake people will not forgive us. We are on trial now. We have to function with great care and caution. Fortunately, our leader has left behind policies and programmes which if faithfully followed will win us the confidence of the people. We must remember that in our country there are millions of poor people and to the extent we adopt measures to improve their lot to that extent we can hope to enjoy their confidence. If we are united for the purpose of achieving this noble objective then I have no doubt that the people will continue to repose their confidence in the great organisation to which all of us belong. Even the Opposition parties have stated that the future of the country depended on the unity within the Congress Organisation."

Kamaraj

A dedicated Life

Sri Jawaharlal Nehru was born at Allahabad on November 14, 1889. He received his early education at home under private tutors. At the age of fifteen, he went to England and after two years at Harrow, join'd Cambridge University where he took his Tripos in Natural Sciences. He was later called to the Bar from Inner Temple. He returned to India in 1912 and Plunged straight into politics. Even as a student, he had been interested in the struggle of all nations who suffered under foreign domination. He took keen interest in the Sinn Fein Movement in Ireland. In India he was invitably drawn into the struggle for independence.

Meeting with Gandhi

He attended the Bankipore Congress as a delegate in 1912 and became Secretary of the Home League, Allahabad in 1919. In 1916 he had his first meeting with Mahatma Gandhi and felt irresistibly drawn towards him. He organised the first Kisan march in Pratapgarh district of Uttar Pradesh in 1920. He was twice imprisoned in connection with the non-co-operation movement of 1920–22.

Sri Nehru became the General Secretary of All India Congress Committee in September 1923. He toured Italy, Switzerland, England, Belgium, Germany and Russia in 1926. In Belgium, he attended the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities in Brussels as an official delegate of the Indian National Congress. He also attended the tenth anniversary celebrations of the October Socialist Revolution in Moscow in 1927. Earlier in 1926, at the Madras Congress, Sri Nehru was instrumental in committing the Congress to the goal of independence. While leading a procession against the Simon Commission, he was lathi-charged in Lucknow in 1928. On August 29, 1928 he attended the All-Party Congress and was one of the signatories to the Nehru Report on Indian Constitutional Reform, named after his father Shri Motilal Nehru. The same year, he also founded the 'Independence for India League', which advocated complete severance of the British connection with India, and became its General Secretary.

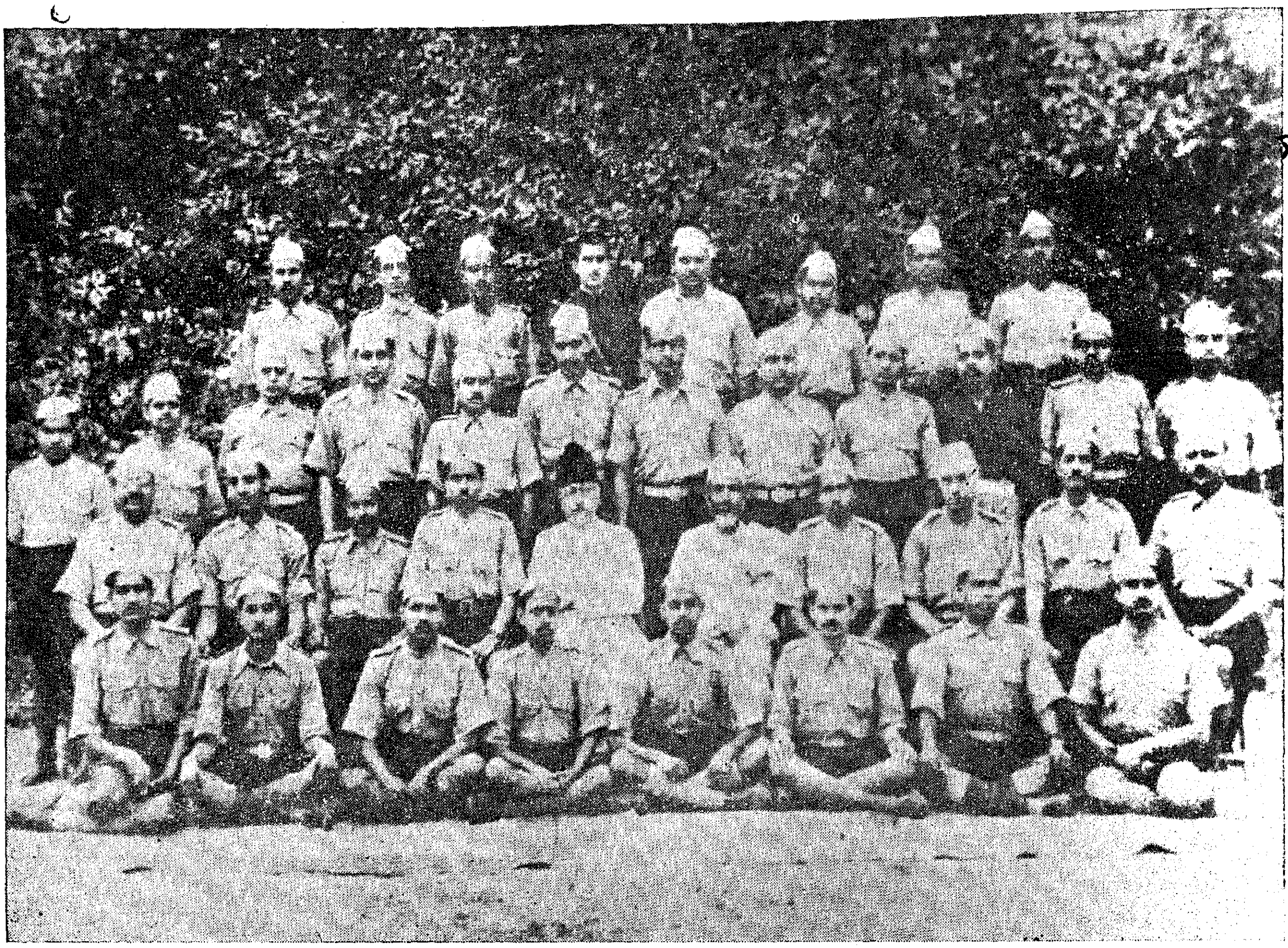
Autobiography completed

In 1929, Sri Nehru was elected President of the Lahore Session of the Indian National Congress, where complete independence for the country was adopted as the goal. He was imprisoned several times during 1930-35 in connection with the Salt Satyagraha and other movements launched by the Congress. He completed his "Autobiography" in Almora Jail on February 14, 1935. After release, he flew to Switzerland to see his ailing wife and visited London and Rome in February-March 1936. He also visited Spain in July 1938, when the country was in the throes of a Civil War. Just before the outbreak of the Second World War he visited China also.

Imprisoned nine times

On October 31, 1940 Sri Nehru was arrested for offering individual satyagraha to protest against India's forced participation in War.

> **GANDHI'S SUCCESSOR**
>
> *"It will require much more than differences of opinion to estrange us. We have had differences from the moment we became co-workers, Jawaharlal will be my successor. He says he does not understand my language and that he speaks a language foreign to me. This may or may not be true. But language is not bar to a union of hearts. And I know this, that when I am gone he will speak my language."*
>
> *Gandhiji.*



The late Prime Minister Sri Jawaharlal Nehru with U. P. leaders in a camp held at Allahabad in 1939.

GREATEST PROPOGANDIST

The unique thing about Jawaharlal Nehru was his faith in and hold on the people, just as a highly successful marketing man pins his hopes on the people who constitute his market.

Jawaharlal Nehru was not only the greatest of all Prime Minister but a most successful " Information " Minister.

Apart from his many admirable virtues, he was possibly the greatest propagandist of our time. He " sold " India magnificently like any modern huckster.

As a seasoned writer and journalist, he never needed a ghost writer, nor a speech writer. If advertising meant the art of persuasion, Jawaharlal Nehru was the greatest master of persuasion. If public relations meant the art of creating a favourable image, Jawaharlal Nehru was also an unrivalled image-creator.

He was realeased along with the other leaders in December 1941. On August 7, 1942 Sri Nehru moved the historic 'Quit India' resolution at the A.I.C.C. Session in Bombay. On August 8, 1942 he was arrested along with other leaders and taken to Ahmednagar Fort. This was his longest and also the last detention. In all, he suffered imprisonment nine times. After his release in Janury 1945, he organised legal defence for Officers and men of the Indian National Army of Subhas Chandra Bose, charged for treason. In March 1946, Sri Nehru toured South East Asia. He was elected President of the Congress for the fourth time on July 6, 1946 and again for three more terms from 1951 to 1954.

In 1946, Sri Nehru played a prominent part in the negotiations leading to the transfer of power. He formed the Interim Government and was sworn in as the Vice-President of the Governor-General's Executive Council on September 2, 1946. He was the Member in-charge of External Affairs in this Government.

First Prime Minister

On India becoming Independent on August 15, 1947, Sri Nehru became her first Prime Minister and continued to hold that office until his death.

It was under his leadership that India began a multipronged drive for economic development. Behind the Five-Year Plans that were drawn for taking India to the path of prosperity were the advice, guidance and inspiration of Sri Jawaharlal Nehru. In fact the concept for planned development originated, to a large extent, with him as far as India is concerned. When he was still in the thick of fight for freedom, he was thinking Independent of the future and was one of the architects of the tentative development plans drawn up by the Congress.

Independent Foreign Policy

In the field of foreign affairs too, he gave India an Independent policy, when he declared that the country would remain non-aligned in international affairs and in spite of criticisms and severe stresses caused by various international affairs, he never for a moment faltered in pursuing that policy. He may be said to be the originator of the *Panch Sheel* idea which was accepted later by the Afro-Asian nations at Bandung in 1955.

Although he was always concerned about the welfare of the under-developed countries, his keenest interest was in Afro-Asian solidarity. This found its first concrete expression in the Asian Relations Conference held in Delhi in March 23, 1947. That Conference, in fact, may be said to have laid the foundation of the Afro-Asian meet at Bandung in 1955 at which Prime Minister Nehru's role in bringing Afro-Asian nations, some of whom had conflicting idealogies, together is well-known.

In the cause of peace

During his visits to foreign countries on various occasions, he never failed to make his impact through his fearless advocacy of the cause of peace and freedom. His address to the United Nations General Assembly on February 3, 1948, and again in 1956 and 1961 were remarkable for their forthright enunciation of the principles which Nehru had held dear all his life, namely, the establishment of peace in the world and the removal of all vestiges of colonialism.

In September 1960, Sri Nehru attended the U.N. General Assembly Session as leader of the Indian delegation. He moved a resolution in the Assembly urging Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Krushchev to renew their contacts. His active participation along with other heads of Governments, in this session and later in the Belgrade Conference of non-aligned nations in August and September 1961, showed the increasing claims made on his time and attention as a leading world statesman.

His faith in the United Nations remained unshaken throughout, in spite of the shocks that the world organisation received at times. He firmly hold to the belief that the United Nations could play a constructive role in world affairs by persuading countries to follow the path of peace instead of trying to indulge either in open conflict or cold war.

The strained Indo-Pakistan relations were a constant source of unhappiness to him and while he was at the helm of affairs in India he never missed an opportunity to bring the two countries together. Right up to the moment of his demise he was engaged in efforts to bring about lasting amity between the two countries.

Sri Nehru was the first to realise that the new regime in China had come to stay and India was one of the first countries, under Sri Nehru's guidance, to extend recognition to the new Government in China. Sri Nehru started putting full faith in the Chinese Government and was respon-

sible for getting China accepted in the Comity of Afro-Asian Nations at Bandung. In 1954, he signed an agreement with Mr. Chou En lai, in which the Five Principles of co-existence, i.e., *Panch Sheel*, were incorporated. In the following years too, he continued to extent his hand of friendship to China. His shock therefore was immeasurable when China attacked India in October 1962.

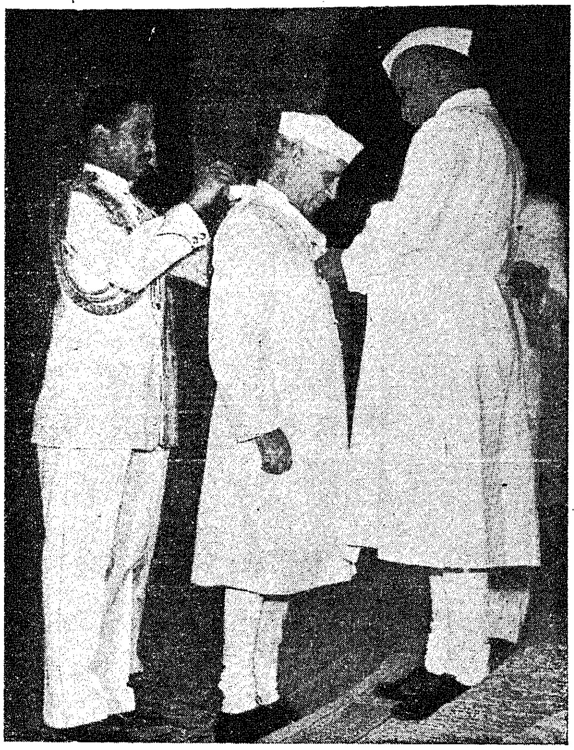
An example of courage

An example of his courgaeous stand in international affairs was provided by the Suez crisis. He did not hesitate to condemn the British Government's action in Suez. He followed it up with an urgent message to the United Nations on October 31, 1956, requesting that organisation to take swift action to avert the aggression against Egypt. In pursuance of his policy of encouraging the nationalist movements in various countries he gave his full support to the newly emerging Asian and African States.

Foreign tour

He visited the U.S.A. in October 1949 at the invitation of President Truman and addressed, the U.S. Congress on October 13, and the Canadian Parliament on October 24 of the same year. He again visited the U.S.A. in 1956 and 1961. Sri Nehru also paid visits to U.S.S.R. in 1955 and 1961 and to China in 1956. Sri Nehru paid a visit to Nepal in June 1951 and again in 1959. In May 1953, he attended the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in London. He also visited, Burma, Thailand, Indonesia and Malaya in December, 1954. In June-July 1955 Sri Nehru visited U.S.S.R., Yogoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Italy and Egypt. He saw the Pope in Rome about Goa on July 8, 1955. On December 13 that year, he signed a joint statement with the Prime Minister of U.S.S.R., Mr. Bulganin on co-existence. In June-July 1956, Sri Nehru toured Ireland, West Germany, France, Yugoslavia, Greece, Egypt, Syria and Lebanon. In June 1957, Sri Nehru went on a goodwill visit to Syria" Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden and next month he visited Egypt, Holland and Sudan. He also visited Japan in October 1957.

On December 11, 1959, Sri Nehru issued a joint statement with President Eisenhower on the need to settle disputes by peaceful means.



The late President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, conferring the award of Bharat Ratna on Sri Jawaharlal Nehru on September 7, 1956.

Bharat Ratna awarded

For his life-long services to the nation and his heroic endeavour in the cause of peace for mankind the President awarded the Bharat Ratna, the highest award of honour, to Sri Nehru, on July 15, 1955, immdediately after his return from his first U.S.S.R. tour.

On the home front, Sri Nehru's sponsorship of the Conference on National Integration (September 28 to October 1, 1961) was acclaimed as a step of far-reaching importance in the direction of preserving the integrity and solidarity of the nation. He has been Chairman of the Planning Commission and been mainly responsible for the basic principles underlying the various Five-Year Plans which are designed to establish, a socialist pattern of society in the democratic manner.

A gifted writer

His books, *Glimpses of World History*, *Autobiography* and *Discovery of India* have been acclaimed as works of considerable literary merit and have attracted world-wide attention.

THE JEWEL OF INDIA

—Mahatma Gandhi

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru more than justified the choice of the people. His address, brief and to the point was bold, extreme in conception but moderate in expression. It bore evidence of a man capable of viewing things with complete detachment. A confirmed Socialist, he wants for his country what only the country can manage. He is a practical statesman, tempering his ideals to suit his surroundings. But for himself, he is an idealist who would ever strive to live up to his ideals.

As in his address, so in the chair. He was strong, yet accommodating. His wit came to his rescue on many an awkward occasion. He never hesitated when action was required. His tireless energy and entire self-forgetfulness, his natural simplicity and affability captivated every one. No Government, that is at all anxious to do what is right, can have any reason to fear Jawaharlal Nehru. A wicked Government would soon feel the strength of a stalwart who counts no price too dear to pay for ridding the country of wicked rule.

The youth of the country have every reason to be proud of their representative. The nation may well rejoice to find in Jawaharlal Nehru such a noble and worthy son. May God's blessings descend upon him and may the nation reach her destination during Jawaharlal's year of service.

—*Young India, January* 9, 1930.

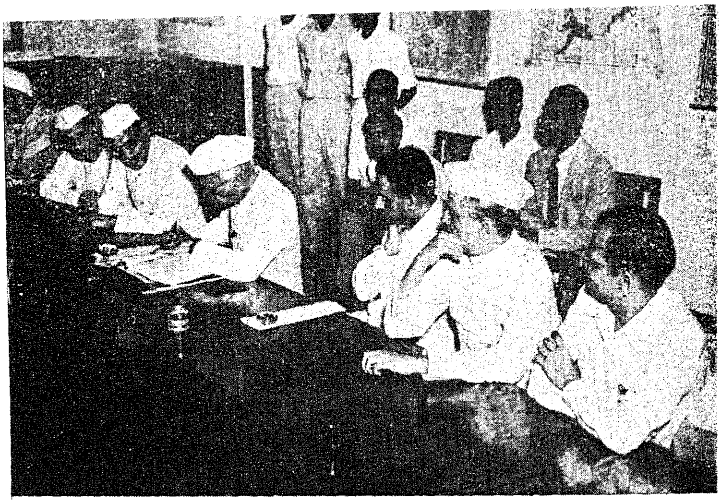
Speaking after prayers on the 22nd June 1946, Gandhiji said:

You must be all curious to have news of India's Jawahar (Jewel). Some say he has been injured, some say he has been insulted and so on. You should believe none of these reports. A telegram has been received during the session of Working Committee, saying that he is well and cheerful. I am not yet in a position to give my estimate of the situation arising out of the action taken by Pandit Jawaharlal on the Kashmir Government. For that, I must meet and hear Pandit Jawaharlal first and know the story of the Kashmir Government's doings.

India's Jawahar

Panditji is under Congress discipline. He is a member of the Congress Working Committee and the President-elect of the Congress. His name is on the list of the proposed Cabinet for the interim period. Therefore, his presence in Delhi is most essential at the present juncture. The Working Committee cannot take the momentous decisions on the problems with which it is faced in his absence, if his presence can be secured. The Kashmir Government has prevented him from entering Kashmir. The Congress President has, therefore, sent him a wire through the Kashmir Government to return to Delhi. The Maulana Saheb has also sent a message to the Viceroy to put him in telephonic communication with Panditji and also to make arrangements for his quickest return to Delhi. The Viceroy has alread v moved in the matter.

—*The Hindustan Times. June* 23 1946.



Sri Nehru signing the new Constitution of India at a ceremony in New Delhi on January 26, 1950.

On the 2nd of September 1946, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his colleagues put on the Crown of Throne as a matter of supreme duty. For Gandhiji, it was a day of deep heart-searching. In the early hours of the morning, while most slept, he set down to draft a note for Pandit Jawaharlal as to the duty of the members of the new Government in this supreme hour. The substance of it he amplified later in the evening.

Hailing the auspicious day, for which India had so long waited, as a red-letter day in India's history, he described it as only a step towards full Independence which was yet to come. He congratulated and thanked the British Government for having resolved an age old issue between Britain and India by peaceful settlement. Whatever it might have done in the past, this was not time for cavilling at old wrongs or reviving bitter memories.

"A friend has asked me," proceeded Gandhiji, "as to when the Viceregal Palace would be turned into a hospital for the poor as was promised by me in the presence of the British Ministers and Rulers of Indian States at the Second Round Table Conference in London. I have not forgotten that promise. I stand by it still. Only the time for it is not yet. We cannot to-day ask the Viceroy to vacate his Palace, while he still holds office. Power has not yet been completely transferred into our hands. The Viceroy is still here with the army. Sooner, rather than later, complete power would be in our hands, if Pandit Nehru, our uncrowned king and first Prime Minister, and his

SYMBOL OF GREATNESS

There are a few people in each century of human life upon this earth who affect the lives of all of us. Such a one is Jawaharlal Nehru. For more decades now than any other one person he has influenced us, East and West, and always for good. Even when at times he has been unjustly criticised by those who do not know him, he has exerted this influence. The result is that to-day he is a figure universally respected for his independence and loved for his integrity and personality.

He has always been a leader. I remember that my own admiration for him began in the days when he was a young follower of Gandhi. I admired Mahatma Gandhi, but I know very well the power of such a man as Gandhiji and I was amazed to see how Jawaharlal Nehru, though young, yet maintained his own mind and will while according to the older man every sign and depth of affection and respect. This ability to defer and yet not to submit, was a symbol of the greatness that was to show itself so plainly and forcefully as the years went on.

I have deplored, certainly, the lack of understanding that the leaders of my own country have at times shown toward Prime Minister Nehru. Again, however, I have seen his greatness when he never retaliated or exhibited bitterness. Meanwhile the years have shown the correctness of his political stand. Under his leadership India has stood as a pivot nation between East and West, her people able to speak the languages of both. Through these most troubled times that human history has ever known, Jawaharlal Nehru has been able steadfastly to hold his people together and to wild their variety into a whole, a nation strong enough to stand firm, I believe, for centuries to come.

I do not forget other aspects of Jawaharlal Nehru's nature, his charm, his brilliance, his grace of manner and bearing. I know that had our times been more peaceful he could have found a high career as a creative writer, for his style of writing is distinguished and his imagination is alive and quick. I regret the less of the books he might have written had he not devoted his talents to his country in political life. I am grateful for the few important books he has written, all of them basic in their importance. Yet I suppose it is true that India has needed the active daily leadership that he has provided more than she needed books.

At all events, Jawaharlal Nehru is unforgetable. He began his life in the shadow of Gandhi, but he soon emerged into the full light of his own day and there has lived, and lives, and will live for ever, not only as the greatest figure of modern India, but also as one of the very few truly greatmen in all the world. I count it as one of my most treasured experiences that I have met him face to face and have heard his living voice.

—By PEARL. S. BUCK

colleagues fully and worthily do their part, the Viceroy would, then himself vacate his Palace and, to be sure, it would be turned into a hospital for the poor, including the Harijans who were the poorest of the poor."

—*Harijan, September* 8, 1946.

His dream of United Asia

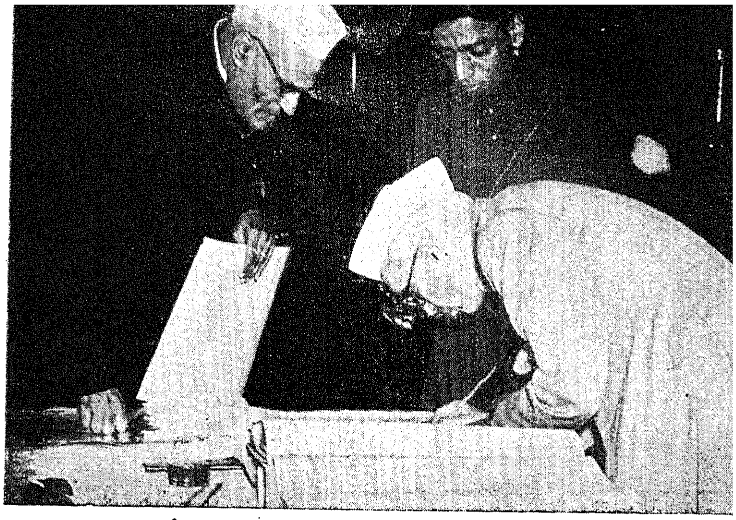
Referring to the Asian Conference that was then being held, Gandhiji said :

It is a big thing and our jewel, Jawaharlal, is very beloved of the delegates because of his love for them and his dream of a United Asia. Only, however, if India is true to hear traditions can she be worthy of the role she ought to play. It would be cruel to spoil Jawaharlal's dream of a United Asia by internal strife in this land.

—*Harijan, April* 20, 1947.

A real Jewel

To the people I appeal once again to be loyal and faithful to their Governments and strengthen them or dismiss them which they have every right to do. Jawaharlal is a real Jawahar (Jewel). He can never be a party to Hindu Raj, nor can the Sardar, who has championed Muslim friends. Though I call myself a Sanatani Hindu, I am proud of the fact that the late Imam Saheb of South Africa had accompanied me to India on my return and died in the Sabarmati Ashram. His daughter and son-in-law are still at Sabarmati. Am I or the Sardar to throw them overboard ? My Hinduism teaches me to respect all religions. In this lies the secret of Rama Raj. If Jawaharlal, the Sardar and People with their ideas have



Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, signing the Planning Commission's Report in New Delhi on 7-7-1951.

forfeited your respect and confidence, you can replace them by another team that has your confidence but you cannot and should not expect them to act against their conscience and regard that India belongs only to the Hindus. That way lies destruction.

—*Harijan, October* 19, 1947.

WHEN JAWAHAR SNAPPED BAPU

Nehru was a good photographer.

Once while with Gandhiji at Wardha, he took out his camera with a view to snap Bapu.

The Mahatma waved his stick at Nehru in a gay mood and Jawaharlal got him in that mood.

That picture was used in several papers.

Fasted with Him

Gandhiji broke the fast on the 18th January 1948, at 12.45 p.m. by receiving the glass of orange juice (8 ounces with glucose 1 ounce) at the hands of Maulana Azad. Pandit Nehru's eyes were wet with tears.

The gathering then dispersed, but Pandit Nehru stayed on. It was only then that he revealed to Gandhiji that he had been fasting with him from the day before. He had kept it as a closely guarded secret even from members of his own household, Gandhiji was deeply moved. As soon as Pandit Nehru had left, he scribbled a note for Pandit Nehru and gave it to be delivered to him personally. The note read :

"Now break your fast....May you live for many long years and continue to be the Jawahar (the jewel) of India !"

" Bapu's Blessings"

—*M. Gandhi (The last Phase)*—

GREAT LEADER OF MEN

Dr. Rajendra Prasad

The history of Bharat during the last thirty years or more is in extricably intertwined with the life and activity of Jawaharlal Nehru. He has been in the forefront of the struggle for freedom of the country, having courted imprisonment more times than I can recall and spent more time in goal than I and perhaps even he can mention offhand. For many years he has been the chief draftsman of the resolutions passed by the Indian National Congress and its All-India Committee, as also of the most important statements of its policy. He has presided over four sessions of the Congress and in that capacity, and also as its Secretary in the earlier days by his untiring work, great powers of organisation, sense of discipline and extensive whirlwind tours helped not only in rousing the spirit of the people but also in building up the organisation that the Congress has proved itself to be. He has on many important occassions not only influenced but laid down the policy which the Congress has adopted. Only one instance of this may be mentioned here. The Congress had adopted as its objective the attainment of SWARAJ is a most comprehensive expression and its full meaning cannot be brought out by any single word in English. But it was felt by many that while it meant full and complete independence without any connection with the British Empire, it might also include and mean Dominion Status. They, therefore, wanted to amend the first article of the Congress constitution and substitute it by some expressions which would include Dominion Status. Resolutions to this effect began to be moved at the sessions of the Congress in 1921 and they became a sort of a hardy annal. But the idea gathered strength and came within the range of practical politics when he took it up at the Madras Session of the Congress in December 1927. The first article was amended when he presided over the Lahore session of the Congress in December 1929. Not that many other notables in the Congress did not have their share in changing and converting the mass of Congress men, but there is no doubt that Jawaharlal Nehru was largely responsible for the amendment of the Congress Constitution.

Ardent Devotee

He shines easily as father, brother, writer, traveller, patriot or internationalis . Nevertheless it is as an ardent devotee of his country and its freedom on whose altar he would sacrifice all his loves......that he will be singled out.

—*Gandhi.*

SANE PEUR, SANS REPROCHE

" In bravery he is not to be surpassed . . . . And if he has the dash and the rashness of a warrior, he has also the prudence of a statesman. A lover of discipline, he has shown himself to be capable of rigidly submitting to it even where it has seemed irksome. He is undoubtedly an extrmist thinking far ahead of his surroundings. But he is humble and practical enough not to force the pace to the breaking point. He is pure as the crystal, he is truthful beyond suspicion. He is a knight ' sane peur, sans reproche '. The nation is safe in his hands. "

Mahathma Gandhi

It is well known that he did not accept Mahathma Gandhi's teachings, instinctively as it were. His life and training had not prepared him for any such sudden conversion. He accepted them to the extent he did after much mental struggle and cogitation, and I feel I shall not be misrepresenting him if I state he had never accepted them even mentally in their entirety. It is this gift of discerning and discriminating between differing ideas and principles that distinguishes him at once from what may be called a *BHAKTA* or devotee and an unsympathetic and understanding critic of the great Master. His transparent integrity and capacity to see and understand the other point of view have, inspite of his not-infrequent, immediate and adverse reaction to many a proposal expressed with firmness not unmixed with outbursts of tempert enabled him to adjust himself and bring about a common course of action on many an important, turning point in our history. When once he has accepted a proposition he has thrown himself heart and soul into action to implement it. He holds strong views, but has not allowed himself to be identified with any group or party within the Congress.

Guided the Nation

Since September 1946, when he with his colleagues first entered the Government of India and more particularly since August 1947 he has been at the helm of affairs, and has been responsible for all that the Government has done or omitted to do as the Prime Minister of any other independent country would be. The country has had to take momentous decisions and face tremendous aftermaths of those decisions. Any lesser man would have long ago broken down under the strain. But he has stood like a firm rock and stuck to what he has felt to be the right course, despite mounting opposition by some of his intimate co-workers. We are not yet out of the woods. The problems which independence and partition of the country have created, many of them still remain to be solved. We have achieved independence, but it still needs constant and careful watching and nursing to be firmly established and able to withstand and counter and conquer all forces of aggression from without and of disorder from within. We have succeeded under the guidance of this great colleague, co-worker and if I may be permitted to put it counterpart in integrating the whole of Bharat as it is today. But the great task of conquering and removing poverty, disease and ignorance and establishing a society which will ensure to all, in the words of our Constitution, justice, liberty, equality and fraternity, still remains to be accomplished. Indeed, we have only just launched our boat of independence on the limitless ocean, and the great work of making Bharat worthy of its great past and fit for a greater future has just begun. It needs a great vision to peer into the future and a greater determination and capacity to act in the present to fulfil and complete it. Jawaharlal Nehru possesses these in abundance, and has been hailed not only by his own countrymen but by others who count in the world today as a great leader of men and statesman.

Chester Bowles Tribute

For all those in the West who believe deeply that political stability and domocratic progress in Asia are essential to the peace of the world, I can think of no better path to an understanding of the new free Asia than an effort at sympathetic understanding of the mind and heart of Jawaharlal Nehru.

—From Ambassador's Report.

A CLEAN FIGHTER

Sardar Patel

Jawaharlal and I have been fellow-members of the Congress, soldiers in the struggle for freedom, colleagues in the Congress Working Committee and other bodies of the Congress, devoted followers of the Great Master who has unhappily left us to battle with grave problems without his guidance, and co-sharers in the great and onerous burden of administration of this vast country. Having known each other in such intimate and varied fields of activity we have naturally grown fond of each other; our mutual affection has increased as years have advanced, and it is difficult for people to imagine how much we miss each other when we are apart and unable to take counsel together in order to resolve our problems and difficulties. This familiarity, nearness, intimacy and brotherly affection make it difficult for me to sum him up for public appreciation, but, then, the idol of the nation, the leader of the people, the Prime Minister of the country, and the hero of the masses, whose noble record and great achievements are an open book, hardly needs any commendation from me.

Baptism of "Fire"

A clean and resolute fighter, he always fought hard and straight against the foreign Government. Having received the baptism of "fire" in his early thirties as an organiser of peasants' movement in the U.P. he imbibed to the full the knowledge of the art and science of non-violent warfare. His ardent emotionalism and his hatred of injustice and oppression converted him into a crusader in the war against poverty, and with an instinctive sympathy for the poor

WHEN I HAVE DONE MY JOB

This is a time when work is required, when labour is required, peace is required, co-operative effort is required, when all the concentrated energies that the nation possesses are required to be put, to the great task of the nation. What are we doing? No doubt the nation is advancing and progressing.

Nevertheless, when I look around me, I see not an atmosphere of work, not a psychology of things being done, but only talk, only criticism and running down and finding fault, petty factions and the like. I see them in all grades, above and below, the younger generation and the older generation, everywhere.

And then, as I said, a slight feeling of uneasiness comes over me at the thought of my age, because, after all, I may have only a few more years to live and the only ambition that I have is to the end of my days I should work my hardest and then when I have done my job I should be thrown on the scrap heap. When I have done my job, there is no need to bother about me further. It is the job and the work that count, not thinking and shouting about people who have done their job and gone.

—*JAWAHARLAL NEHRU*

....Almost the last words of Sri Nehru the night before his death were: "I have disposed of all my files and papers".

he threw himself heart and soul into the struggle for the amelioration of the lot of the peasantry. His sphere of activities widened, and he soon blossomed forth into a silent organiser of the great institution to which we all dedicated ourselves as an instrument of our emancipation, gifted with an idealism of a high order, a devotee of beauty and art in life, and equipped with an infinite capacity to magnetise and inspire others and a personality which would be remarkable in any gathering of world's foremost men. Jawaharlal has gone from strength to strength as a political leader. His trip to foreign countries necessitated by the ailment of his wife raised his conception of Indian nationalism to an ethereal international plane. That was the begining of that international phase of his life and character which has throughout been noticeable in his approach to internal and world problems. Ever since, Jawaharlal Nehru has never looked back. He has grown in stature both in India and abroad. The sincerity of his convictions, the breadth of his outlook, the clarity of his vision and the purity of his emotions these have brought to him the homage of millions in this country and outside.

RITURAJ OF INDIA

Jawaharlal has undoubted claim to the throne of young India. His is a majestic role. Unflinching is his determination and indomitable his courage. What raises him to lofty heights is his unwavering adherence to moral truth and his intellectual character. He has upheld the standard of purity in the midst of political turmoil where deception. including self-delusion, so often destroys integrity. Jawaharlal has never evaded truth when it brought danger in its wake nor has he made alliance with falsehood when it would have been convenient to do so. His brilliant mind has always turned away in outspoken disgust from the path of diplomacy where success is as easy as it is mean. This purity of motive and undeviating pursuit of truth is Jawaharlal's greatest contribution in his fight for freedom.

To-day is the day of our holy festival, of spring. In the midst of the fallen and sore leaves, nature is preparing for the entry of new life, for the festive triumph over death the newly sprouted leaves have brought their offerings of joy. On this occasion it will be natural to associate the stir of new life in the nation with that of the season. And Jawaharlal is the Rituraj, representing the renewal of youth and victorious joy, of an invincible fight against wrong and uncompromising loyalty to the cause of freedom.

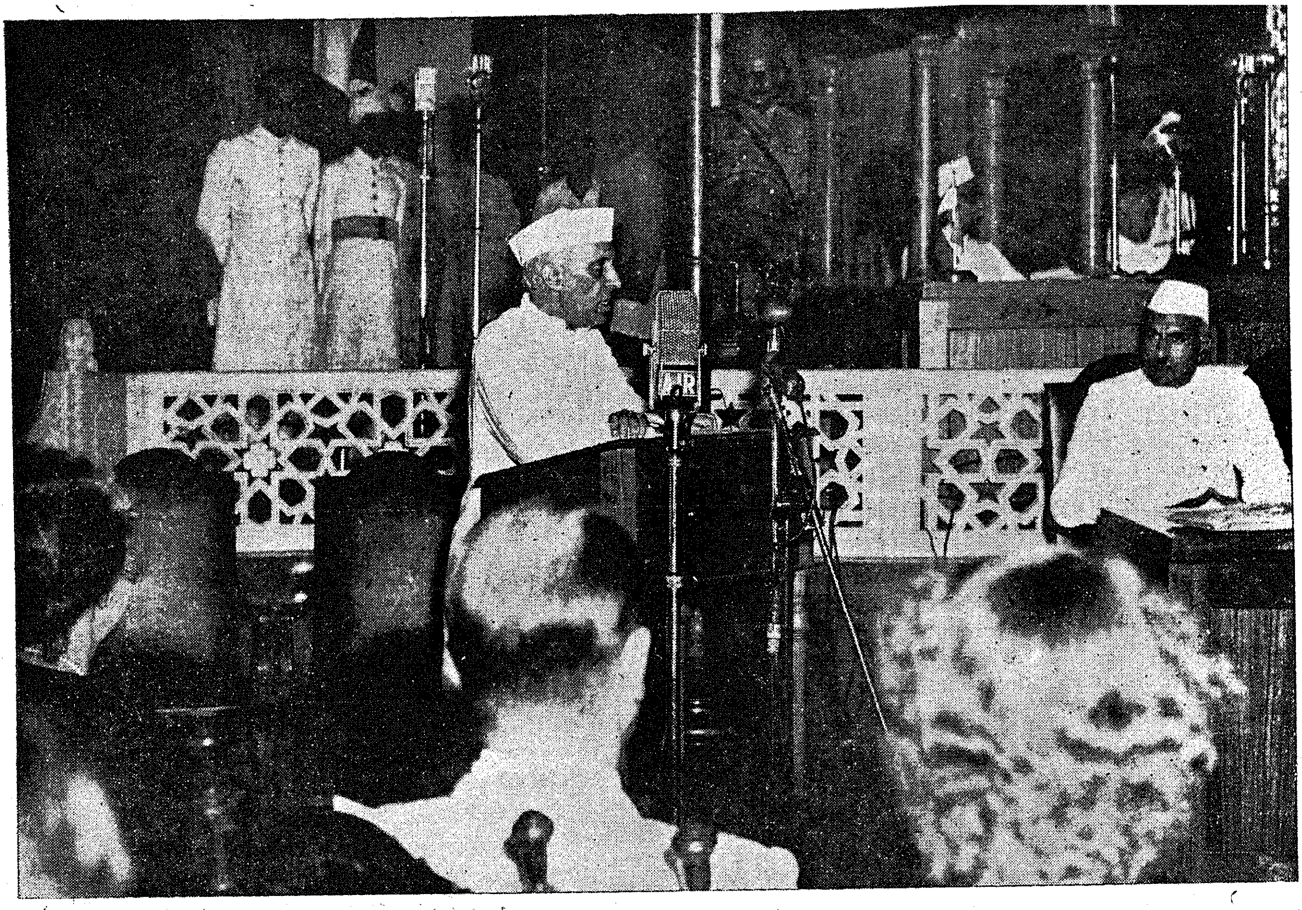
(*Translated from the address delivered by Rabindranath Tagore on March* 8, 1936, *on the death of Kamala Nehru.*)

Notable contribution

It was, therefore, in the fitness of things that in the twilight preceding the dawn of independence he should have been out leading light, and that when India was faced with crisis after crisis following the achievement of our freedom, he should have been the upholder of our faith and the leader of our legions. No one knows better than myself how much he has laboured for his country in the last two years of our difficult existence; I have seen him age quickly during the period, on account of the worries of the high office that he holds and the tremendous responsibilities that he wields. He has never spared himself in the cause of the refugees who have seldom knocked at his door without redress. In the councils of the Commonwealth his has been a most notable contribution; on the world's stage he has played a very remarkable part. Yet, with all this he has maintained that original youthful look, that balanced poise, that sense of perspective and that sangfroid and bonbomie which are the results of a disciplined philosophy and trained intellect. True, we have some outbursts of his temper, but with his passion for promptness and right and his impatience of wrong and delay, such outbursts have been an incentive to exertion and quick disposal. They have been the reserve forces which, when suddenly released, have at times conquered lethargy, delays, circumslocution and absence of will to act.

Secret of his youth

As one older in years, it has been my privilege to tender advice to him on the manifold problems with which we have been faced in both administrative and organisational fields. I have always found him willing to seek and ready to take it. Contrary to the impression created by some interested persons and eagerly accepted in credulous circles, we have worked together as lifelong friends and colleagues, adjusting ourselves to each



Sri Jawaharlal Nehru addressing the midnight session of the Constituent Assembly of India on 14th August 1947.

A GREAT PUBLIC SPEAKER

Addressing the public several times a day never caused fatigue to Nehru. Described as a human dynamo because of his tireless enthusiasm and energy, the very sight of eager masses acted as a tonic on him. The public meetings, on his own admission, proved to be energy-chargers for the idol of the nation.

To many of us, Nehru's appearance at public platforms is familiar. Though an addict to cigarette smoking, he was never to be seen smoking in public. He may speak for an hour, ninety minutes and, on important occasions for two hours at a stretch. But not for him the luxury of a glass of water in the course of a speech. And, even in his advanced age, he always chose to address meetings standing.

Nehru was a stickler to perfection. Before he started to speak he would adjust the mike himself. He would then, give a slight thud with his fingers to test if the loudspeakers are working. If they had failed—as they did some times—the organisers would have hell to face !

other's point of view as the occasion demanded, and valuing each other's advice as only those who have confidence in each other can. His moods vary from juvenile buoyancy to the seriousness of age and maturity, and exhibit that resilience which is at once disarming and accommodating. He is equally at home in the company of sportive children and deliberative elders. It is this variety and this adaptability which are the secret of his eternal youth, the amazing vitality which he exhibits and the invigorating freshness of his presence.

Transparent sincerity

It is obviously impossible to do justice to his great and pre-eminent personality in these few condensed words. The versatility of his character and attainments at once defy delineation. His thoughts have sometimes a depth which it is not easy to fathom, but underlying them all in a transparent sincerity and a robustness of youth which endear him to every one without distinction of caste and creed, race or religion.

NEHRU THE SOCIALIST

Narendra Deva

Although Jawaharlal Nehru left a vague attraction towards Fabian Socialism while he was a student in England, it is definite that he came decisively under the impact of socialism during his sojourn in Europe in 1926–27. Many intellectuals and sensitive souls were deeply impressed with the Russian Revolution, and much more with the Soviet experiment for reorganization of the economic foundations of society in order to secure the welfare of the masses and elimination of all forms of exploitation.

On his return from Europe in 1927, Jawaharlal began to give a new orientation to Congress policy. He was a Tilakite in his student days and was a staunch nationalist. But his socialist outlook now light. For his the question of questions was what should be the tangible shape of Swaraj for which we fought and what should be the method of achieving that objective.

Study of concrete problems

Marxism had given him a scientific method of studying concrete problems. The application of such method enables one to make a penetrating analysis of men and events because one sees them not in isolation but their relation to the social *milieu* from which they have issued such an analysis discovers the unity that finds men and events and conditions them reciprocally. This also enables one to follow every event and every individual in relation to the epoch and to study in this framework the role which is proper to the individual and its significance in the present. Jawaharlal tries to present ; Jawaharlal tries to apply this method to our problems and is able to give us as synthetic a picture as possible. He is also able to reveal tendencies of objective value. He tries to understand the unseen historic forces of which individuals are only transient symbols. He is thus not decieved by external appearances, but he dives deep below the surface and tries to understand the working of forces which lie hidden from our view.

A fundamental question that needed a clear enunciation was whether our national objective was at best only the achievement of dominion status or that of complete independence.

No isolation

It should be clearly understood that while advocating this political objective, Jawaharlal never wanted India to lead a life of isolation. In the first place the modern age is one of interdependence, and being a socialist he could not be guilty of narrow nationalism. As a matter of fact the goal of dominion status if realised, would prevent India from participating directly in the wide international life of the world, as it would bind it to the political and economic system of which England is the representative. We are alien to the members of the British Commonwealth in race, religion and language. The system of political and economic thought, which the Commonwealth stands for, is also alien to us. India, with its hoary civilization and its vast resources in men and material, would be tied down to the chariot-wheel of Great Britain and would not have the freedom to play her proper role in Asia. India is an Asiatic power and her proper place would be primarily in a federation of Asiatic peoples.

Nehru's creed of Socialism

Socialism is for me not merely an economic doctrine which I favour; it is a vital creed which I hold with all my head and heart. I work for Indian independence because the nationalist in me cannot tolerate alien domination; I work for it even more because for me it is the inevitable step to social and economic change. I should like the Congress to become a Socialist organisation and to join hands with the other forces in the world who are working for the new civilization.

—JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Jawaharlal took prominent interest in class organizations. He was elected president of the All-India Trade Union Congress in 1929 and it has been his constant endeavour to make the Congress interest itself in the economic struggles of the workers. He tried to bring economic questions to the forefront. The resolution of fundamental rights passed at the Karachi Congress in 1931 was his contribution. His activities brought about a general radicalisation of political thought in the country. He also insisted on the adoption of a militant programme by the Congress. He was the first to draw the country's attention to the war danger and he prepared the country for resistance to an imperialist war. He advocated the cause of the peoples of the Indian States. He brought India more and more into the international field and by his internationalism secured the support of the progressive thought of the world for the Indian cause. He induced the Congress to take keen interest in international affairs and the resolution passed from time to time on international questions were his handiwork. He also slowly evolved a foreign policy for unofficial India as represented by the Congress.

International recognition

The fact that he has to-day become an international figure is symbolic of the realization that he has won international recognition for India. The fact that he is an idol of the Indian masses is symbolic of the Congress having won the affection and loyalty of the masses. For we must not forget that Jawaharlal's life activities are indissolubly bound up with the Congress and that he has completely identified himself with it. There had been occasions when he vitally differed from certain policies and decisions of the Congress, but when once a decision was taken, he gave his whole-hearted support to it. Typical of his attitude was his saying that " the Congress can do no wrong ", when in spite of his opposition, the Congress in 1937 decided in favour of office acceptance.

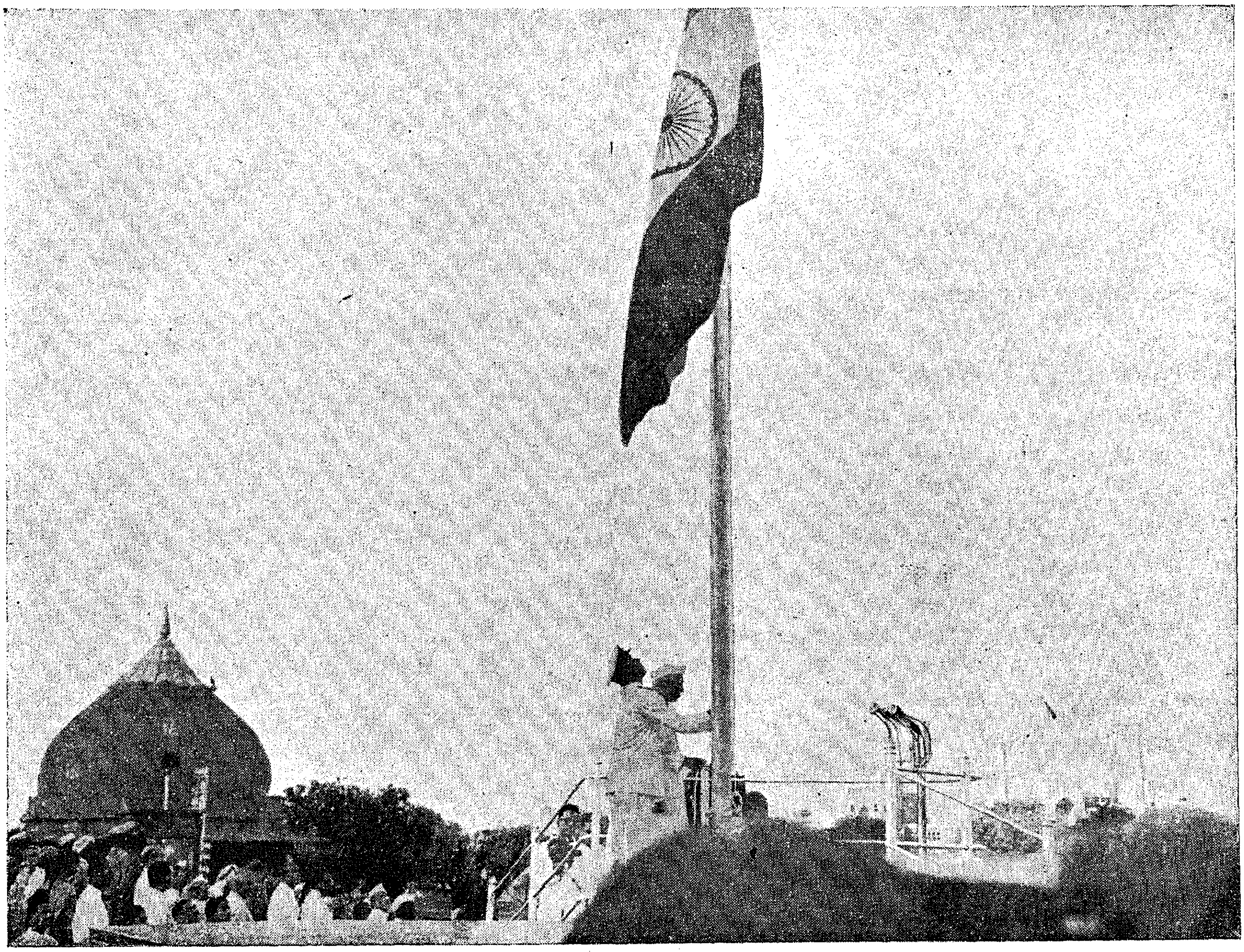
Jawaharlal's principal work has been to bring the Indian national movement in line with modern trends and to interlink it, if possible, with the international movement for democracy and socialism. It is obvious that the Congress being a multi-class organization cannot be an instrument for establishing a socialist state. But in the present world context, under the impact of powerful forces, it can be given a new orientation and as a matter of fact it must allow itself to come increasingly under the influence of socialist thought if it wants to remain true to its goal of complete independence.

No ' ism '

I think it would be wrong to appraise Jawaharlal's activities as those of an individual who is working for the establishment of a socialist state and on this ground to criticise him adversely. Though he is a professed socialist, his activities are largely guided by ideals of democracy and economic betterment of the masses. He is not wedded to any particular ' ism ' nor is he temperamentally fit to be the leader of a group. He believes in some of the fundamental principles of scientific socialism, yet he is not prepared to swear by everything taught by Marx and Lenin. He does not subscribe to any rigid idealogy. He considers himself free to examine the claims of every system of ideas which professes to serve the social purpose, and he is always revising his ideas in the light of new experiences gained. He knows that objective situations are more powerful than theories. The history of the last twenty-five years has taught him that materialism is still a vital force and that every war gives an impetus to it even in unexpected quarters. He is impatient with those who mouth revolutionary phraseology in season and out of season, and who always harp on the theme that the country is in the throes of revolution. He would not sacrifice the immediate possibility for a doubtful future. Besides his first flush of love for socialism has certainly received a check in recent years. It seems that recent world events have made him sober and cautious and the result is that he does not show that burning zeal of a young crusader which was visible in 1936–38.

Man of faith

He is thus not a sectarian. He is a man of faith but his faith is of a peculiar character and not supernatural. He has a scientific outlook and does not believe in metaphysics and mysticism. His approach towards political questions is,



The late Prime Minister hoisting the National Flag on the ramparts of the Red Fort in the Capital in connection with the Independence Day celebration on the morning of August 15, 1963.

therefore, not religious or sentimental. Religion in its institutional form is repugnant to him as it is the bulwark of reaction and the defender of the *status quo.* Its function in society has been to make social inequalities less irksome to the lower classes. But he has no quarrel with that purer form of religious faith which inspires the conduct of individuals. He, however, believes in ethical social conduct and has a deep sense of human values. He has faith in the ideals of social progress. He believes in planning life for democracy and freedom. He is against totalitarianism and wants to find an equation between individual liberty and planned economic order.

Democrat

As I have said above, Jawaharlal does not belong to any orthodox school of socialism. But if I were asked to sum up his social philosophy in a neat phrase, I would say that it is " democractic socialism ". Socialistic ideals inspire his conduct because in his opinion they alone represent enduring human values and without these a full free and co-operative life is not possible.

In India he would immediately scrap the feudal economy and abolish the class of intermediaries between the state and the tillers of the soil. But, for the present, he may remain satisfied with the socialisation of key industries, leaving an economic sector free for private enterprise, though here also he would impose certain state controls. He wants to provide a decent, free and creative life for the masses in the largest possible measure. He believes that economic freedom for the masses is not possible without planning and in order to achieve this end he would put up with a measure of coercion by the state as a necessary evil. But he is essentially a democrat and will see that democracy is not smothered under any pretext. In the international sphere, he will work for an international order for the establishment of peace, freedom and progress.

A model for YOUTH

For the youth of the early thirties and forties, he was the symbol of everything new and modern. His ideas swept us off our feet because they were like a breath of fresh air blowing away the cobwebs of our feudal and colonial past, challenging us to revolutionize everything that stood in the way of absolute and undiluted freedom.

Every aspect of Jawaharlal Nehru's personality fascinated us and inspired us. He was our faultless and flawless idol, ideally perfect. In our own ways we tried to be like him, to live up to his expectations; and often to earn his approval was enough, the highest reward that the heart could desire.

Our sheet-anchor

Neither time nor age could blur the radiant image of Jawaharlal Nehru of our youth because we refused to allow ourselves to be overawed by the fact that he was India's Prime Minister. If ever there was a barrier between him and the likes of me it was because of this high office. To see him surrounded by hordes of careerists both official and non-official, to see him yield to them where he should have resisted firmly, dismayed and hurt us and at times we felt bitter and became cynical. Outwardly and even organizationally these moods often led to estrangement and aloofness. But these spells of withdrawal were merely passing phases because in every crucial test we found ourselves ranged with him and against those who questioned the fundamental social and political faith of his and our being. Despite such occasional jolts the old kinship of the leader to the follower, of the idol to the devotee, reasserted itself; and unto the last he remained our sheet-anchor.

Will we be able to live courageously even after him, or will work and life become too much of a burden and drudgery? If the brave among the youth of today take over the torch that Jawaharlal Nehru lit our remaining years need not be dismal and dark. Should however a pall of ignorance and indifference keep them away from the field of action, our generation will truly be written off as a lost generation, aimless, empty and adrift.

—*ARUNA ASAF ALI*

NEHRU AND INDIA

ASOKA MEHTA,
Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.

Those who have grown up in the shadow of the personality of Pandit Nehru can scarcely realise how much of their very thoughts have been shaped by him. Millions in India and elsewhere are his spiritual children who have learnt to comprehend the world in terms of his ideas and idioms. As he incarnated an epoch, so did he shape a whole generation.

Pandit Nehru combined in himself three qualities that have rarely gone together. First, he had a passion for knowledge ; no sphere of it was alien to him. He roamed over the world of knowledge with the same zest and communion with which he moved in the world of men. Secondly, he had the insight of a historian. Behind the ebb and flow of events he sought the patterns and purposes of men. He was able to bring simultaneously both commitment and objectivity because he could set events in the background, as well as the perspective of history. Again, he was profoundly concerned about the dignity of the lowliest of men. To help every person to discover and realise his full stature was his fundamental quest.

The deep respect and concern for man's dignity made him a fighter for freedom, a democrat and a socialist. The shackles round the enslaved have to fall off if man is to become erect again.

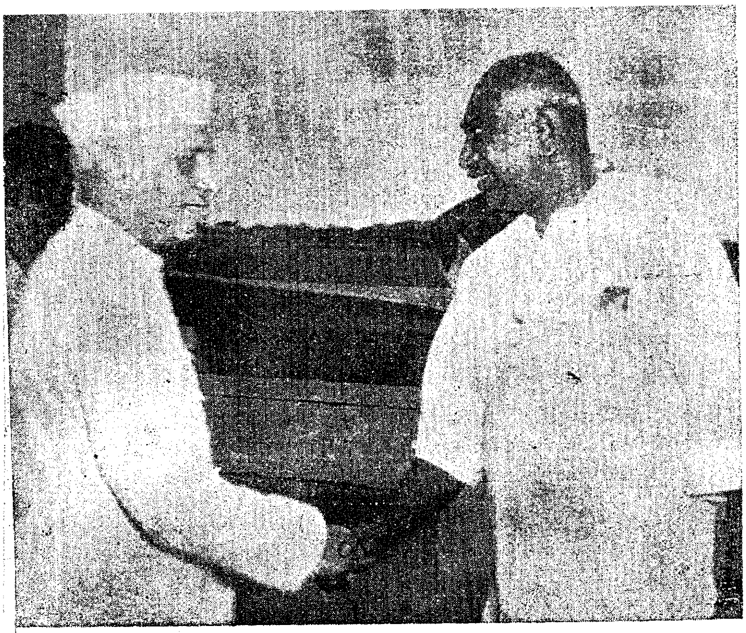
Hold on the people

The mantle of leadership sat easily and naturally on Pandit Nehru. To see him was to acclaim him. That charisma in him he used to lift men's thoughts and emancipate their hearts and minds. His hold over the people was massive and legendary and he retained and strengthened that hold over many years without ever resorting to irrational appeals. Like the prophets of old he evoked men's allegiance by uplifting them and not by degrading them as mass politics tends to do.

It was his unique gift to make rationality emotionally acceptable. Even when he stirred the elemental levels of mass emotions, as he had to if he was to arouse his people against colonial rule, he effortlessly maintained the discipline of larger purposes on them. He could provide soaring vistas to struggling nationalism and on the morrow of its triumph endow it with international obligations. He understood and respected people's limited loyalties to nation, religion, language or class, but while acknowledging them he ceaselessly endeavoured to transform them into something less exclusive. Whatever the heights to which the wings of men would carry them, he filled them with the desire of the blue sky. Anything narrow he abhorred because he saw vista and vitality inextricably linked together.

First principle

He had a passion for asserting the first principles unequivocally. That is why he had insisted on the Congress accepting the objective of complete independence even though he believed in the interdependence of nations, and, in fact, emerged as the architect of a totally altered Commonwealth. Likewise, he progressively pushed the Congress to the acceptance of democratic socialism, even when in practice he recognised many compromises. He insisted on the clearest enunciation of objectives remaining stubbornly uncompromising there, because he felt that such clarity helps the people to trace the course, like the light on the hill-top guiding travellers in their pilgrimage. In the



Sri Nehru and Sri K. Kamaraj, caught in a happy mood.

day-to-day life compromises do occur; only incandescence of objectives saves the people from getting bogged down in them. Men's day-to-day efforts are the result of their fluctuating strength, but the assurance of an endless surge of strength depends on the sharpest delineation of the purposes.

Successful revolutionary

He had unswering faith in the creativity of the people. He was essentially an inspired artist whose medium was the people around him. As the sculptor, and he alone, sees in the marble the outlines of the image he seeks to carve, so did Jawaharlal see in the people their unfolding potentialities he cherished! Here was a successful revolutionary, a hero of the liberation movement a socialist, a modernist who strangely enough was indifferent to organisation. He felt that he abridged and atrophied men when he merely held them within the folds of an organisation; he enlarged and liberated them when he evoked response by widening their horizon or imparting rationality to their emotions. In the age of organisation, he remained the supreme exponent of " Thou and I " relationship with his fellow-men.

Contact with people

He brought to the Indian Parliament a quick maturity because for him it was the classic forum where one speaks, argues, explains, expounds. The parliamentary work he supplemented with countless public meetings where millions gained face-to-face communion with him. This aristrocrat, scholar, statesman could open out unreservedly, could reveal his innermost thoughts and self, not to any single human being but only to the people. That was so because, in the concourse, in fact, he spoke to every man. It was always a dialogue, never the harangue.

What made him cherish the Parliament as an institution also made him give rare significance to the Planning Commission that he nurtured. The Commission, through its plans and projects, was expected to provide rationality to men's endeavours and meaningful foliation to the aims that guide and inspire these efforts. Here too was not a strait-jacket of an organisation imposed upon the people, but an effort at broadening the horizon, deepening understanding and enlisting energies in the task of social transformation. As with the Master, Pandit Nehru's constant preoccupation was with means shaping the end. Every step had to be endowed with the full glory of the pilgrimage.

Universal gestalt

He was the most accessible of men. In his contact the tensions were stilled. Here again, like Gandhiji, he had the healing touch in him. Under his spell men did not work out some patchwork compromise, they somehow rose above their fragmentary faiths and sensed something of the universal *gestalt* that guided him. Behind every discordance there is always the possibility of uncovering, achieving some harmony. It was only when rigidities were imposed and ossification insisted upon that possibilities of such a change from discord, distrust and dissensions to understanding got closed. That is why Jawaharlal Nehru fought relentlessly against intolerance, whether religious or international.

Symbol of youth

He had a deep sensitivity to and appreciation of the past as the log book of his great voyage. The Discovery of India testifies. He, however, had a horror of crusted traditions. He remained for over seventy years the symbol of youth because

When I think of India

When I think of India, I think of many things; of broad fields dotted with innumerable small villages; of towns and cities I have visited; of the magic of the rainy season which pours life into the dry, parched up land and converts it suddenly into a glistening expanse of beauty and greenery, of great rivers and flowing water; of the Khyber Pass in all its bleak surroundings; of the southern tip of India; of people individually and in the mass; and above all of the Himalayas, snow-capped, or some mountain valley in Kashmir in the spring, covered with new flowers, and with a brook bubbling and gurgling through it.

—JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

he, as it were, exuded regeneration. Growth, change, foliation were for him the vital thrusts. In them and through them men could seek their liberation. Rigidities, ossification and obscurantism in so many ways imprison and entomb men. These were prisons to be shattered, not shelters to be sought.

He, as a student of science, understood and welcomed the revolutionary impact of science and technology. He sought to harness their forces to lift from his countrymen the burden of poverty and hunger. He hoped to dot the land with mighty projects and proudly acclaimed them as the new places of pilgrimage. It was crystal clear to him that political freedom had to ensure social liberation and that could come only through economic growth which demanded the fullest use of science and technology in transforming to gainful ends the untapped natural resources of the land. Here too his deep concern for right means to ensure the desired end led him to espouse socialist modes of development.

His faith in his fellow-men made him a confirmed democrat. He never hesitated to endow the people with wider powers and responsibility because he never doubted their ability to use them wisely. The same faith made him secular in outlook. If religion and religion alone shaped all the contours of life and culture, what would happen to the utlimate faith of Man that Rabindranath Tagore had aptly called The Religion of Man ? As nationalism remains creative and positive only when fitted into international understanding, so does religious faith remain protean only in the framework of tolerance and mutuality of respect. To free man from the totems and taboos of traditionalism, to individualise him and to socialise him, to engage his energies and enthusiasm in co-operative tasks of transformation was for Jawaharlal the rationale of his socialist faith.

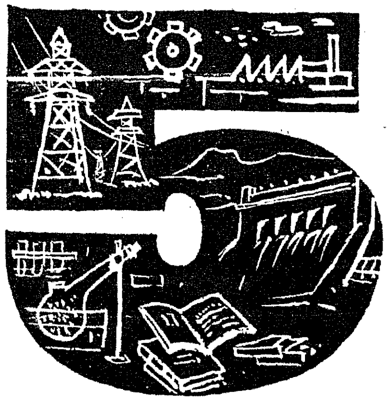
Loved one and all

He loved men around him, not just the children but every single person he could reach. That outflowing love made humanity respond to him with a rare fervour. As the meanest musical instrument unlocks its harmonies in the hands of the master musician so the meanest of men under Jawaharlal's influence reached forth to the founts of creativity that reside in every man. This profound faith in men was combined with implicit allegiance to reason. It was the intermingling of faith and reason that made Nehru the *knight sans peur* that he truly was.

PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

Parliamentary democracy demands many virtues. It demands, of course, ability. It demands a certain devotion to work. But it demands also a large measure of co-operation, of self-discipline, of restraint. It is obvious that a house like this cannot perform any functions without a spirit of co-operation, without a large measure of restraint and self-discipline in each group. Parliamentary democracy is not some thing which can be created in a country by some magic wand. We know very well that there are not many countries in the world where it functions successfully. I think it may be said without any partiality that it has functioned with a very large measure of success in this country. Why? Not so much because we, the members of this house, are exemplars of wisdom, but, I think, because of the background in our country and because our people have the spirit of democracy in them.

Jawaharlal—March 28, 1957.

NEHRU AND  YEAR PLANS

TARLOK SINGH,
Member, Planning Commission.

The setting up of the Planning Commission with the Prime Minister, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, as Chairman, was announced towards the end of February 1950, within a month of the promulgation of the Constitution. Sri Nehru's decision to associate himself with planning in this way was more than a symbolic act. Years of preparation through identification with the problems of the masses and the work of the National Planning Committee lay behind this association. In the fourteen years and more which have since elapsed Sri Nehru's association was of decisive significance at every important juncture, both within the Planning Commission and outside. Whether it was in the Cabinet, in Parliament, in relation to States, in moulding and educating public opinion or in projecting the country's economic and social goals abroad, Sri Nehru remained the greatest inspiration and support behind India's planned development.

Sri Nehru with the Madras Chief Minister
Sri M. Bhaktavatsalam at Gandhigram in 1963.

Last meeting with the Commission

His last meeting with the Planning Commission took place as recently as May 10, 1964, when he said that he would be glad to give as much time as was needed because he was deeply interested in planning. Since the informal meeting, which Sri Nehru attended on March 12, 1950, and the first official meeting on March 28, 1950, and until fairly recently, he visited the offices of the Planning Commission on an average about twenty times a year or more, his visits being specially frequent during the periods when intensive preparation of successive Five-Year Plans was under way. At such times, he followed the discussions on major issues intently and, where there was a vital principle or departure, he listened carefully and gave a direction for the future. Sometimes, his mind was already made up and the issues were quickly resolved.

Two important steps

When Sri Nehru assumed office as Vice-President of the Interim Government on September 2, 1946, no one knew the shape of the future. Within a few weeks, Sri Nehru took two steps which were to prove important later. The first was the appointment of an Advisory Planning Board which recommended the setting up of a Planning Commission. The second was the constitution of a Scientific Manpower Committee which laid the base for the remarkable advance

of scientific and technical education in later years. Sri Nehru also gave the utmost support to the programme for establishing a chain of National Laboratories which had been conceived in outline earlier but was not greatly enlarged.

Planning Commission

Through the political turmoils and uncertainties of 1947 and the terrible aftermath of Partition and the new anxieties which Kashmir brought, for a period, little could be done in pursuit of planning. However, from around the middle of 1949, Sri Nehru's mind turned more and more to the solution of the food problem and to economic planning. Towards the end of 1949, he gave a great deal of time to a foreign expert, who prepared a memorandum setting out his ideas concerning economic planning and the machinery required for it. This memorandum was discussed by secretaries and senior officials whose approach to planning the Prime Minister found halting in the extreme. Soon Sri Nehru travelled alone far beyond their thinking and, if one's recollection is correct, in January 1950, at a meeting of the Congress Working Committee, the decision was taken to constitute a Planning Commission.

Work of Planning Commission

Two days after the Finance Minister announced the composition of the Commission, with Sri Gulzarilal Nanda as the Deputy Chairman and a distinguished membership, the draft of a Government of India Resolution setting out the terms of reference came up for consideration. Sri Nehru rewrote a considerable part of the draft and, in particular, in the words cited below he linked up the work of the Planning Commission directly to the Fundamental Rights and to the Directive Principles of State Policy embodied in the Constitution:

"The Constitution of India has guaranteed certain Fundamental Rights to the citizens of India and enunciated certain Directive Principles of State Policy, in particular, that the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic, and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life, and shall direct its policy towards securing, among other things :—

(*a*) that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood ;

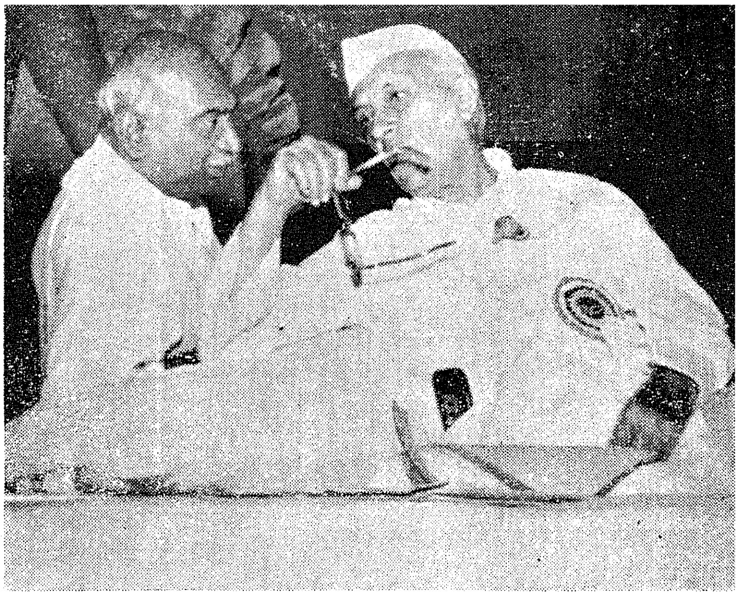
(*b*) that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good ; and

(*c*) that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment.

Having regard to these rights and in furtherance of these principles as well as of the declared objective of the Government to promote a rapid rise in the standard of living of the people by efficient exploitation of the resources of the country, increasing production, and offering opportunities to all for employment in the service of the community.

The Planning Commission will . . . ."

Thus, though the accent was more marked in later years, from the very beginning, India's Planning was rooted in the concepts of Democracy and Socialism and the objective of giving equal opportunity and the good life to the masses of the people.



Sri Nehru and Sri Kamaraj at the All-India Congress Committee meeting held at Madurai in 1961.

Planned development

Since India accepted the approach of planned development, many other countries have also formulated and implemented their own economic plans. Perhaps what has distinguished India's plans from those of numerous other countries is their sense of continuity, going back to the insights and inspirations of the days of the national struggle, the widening horizon and the greater depth from one plan to the next and the involvement in the plans, though still far from complete, of millions of people at all levels of national life.

The significance of India's plans lies not merely in the economic expansion which might be achieved but even more, in the transformation of the social order, the emergence of a broad-based leadership at the level of the community and the creation of the institutions of democracy through which the people everywhere could harness their energies to the solution of their common problems, improvement of living conditions and the development of human resources. These trends became possible because of the outlook which Sri Nehru and a long line of national leaders before him, from Dadabhai Naoroji to Mahatma Gandhi, brought to bear on the movement for national freedom. Their total impact is not easy to measure, nor can it yet be fully assessed.

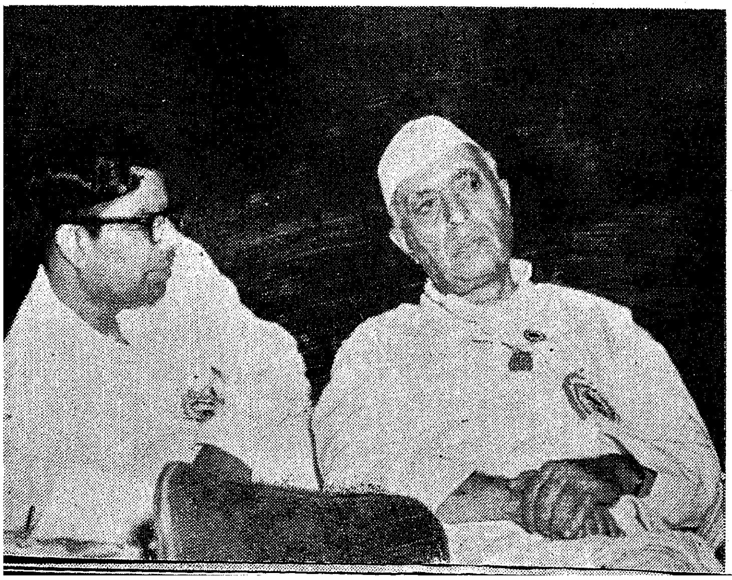
Each of our three Five-Year Plans was presented by Sri Nehru to Parliament. Sri Nehru regarded the beginning and the end of a Five-Year Plan as vital dates in the nation's history. His speeches in Parliament on each Five-Year Plan traversed far beyond the dimensions and priorities of the Plan and conveyed to the nation a series of vistas into the future, some in sharp focus, others in outline.

The First Plan

Although the First Five-Year Plan laid the foundations for any important developments of later years and, in the life of a nation its first Plan may often be its most important, to Sri Nehru India's First Plan always somehow seemed less than adequate in its total comprehension. He set great store by the idea of community projects which, he said:

"is something which is basically revolutionary, if worked well. . . . . We have not paid enough attention to these rural areas in the past and, unless we bring them up to a certain level we shall always be weighed down by them."

Sri Nehru and Sri C. Subramaniam at the All India Congress Committee meeting held at Madurai in 1961.



Basic goals and objectives

Sri Nehru read through several chapters of the Plan and even wrote in a few paragraphs himself. However, the Plan seemed to him to be wanting in the perspective for the future and

BATTLE AGAINST POVERTY AND DISTRESS

UNARMED and peaceful, we faced a proud empire, not looking for aid to any other country and relying only on ourselves. We had faith in our country and in ourselves. This gave us the strength that sustained us during our struggle for independence. We are much better off today, for we are a free people with the strength of great country behind us. Why then should our faith and our confidence in ourselves weaken? It is true that we have tremendous economic and other difficulties to face. But we have faced even bigger problems in the past. Why should we not face similar ones in the same way also. We must not let our minds get entangled in petty questions and difficulties and forget the main issues.

We belong to a great country, a country that is not only great physically but in things far more important. If we are to be worthy of our country we must have big minds and big hearts, for small men cannot face big issues or accomplish big tasks. Let each one of us do his duty to his country and to his people and not dwell too much on the duties of others. Some people get into the habit of criticising others without doing anything themselves. Nothing good can come out of that type of criticism. So, wherever you may be, whether you are in the civil employ of the Government or in the field with the handle of your plough in your hand, each one of you must do your duty efficiently and in a spirit of service to the nation. If the vast numbers of our countrymen apply themselves to their tasks in their innumerable capacities and co-operate with others, for getting over the petty things that divide them, we shall marvel at the speed with which India will progress.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

in placing sufficient emphasis on basic objectives. It was also weak in its scientific and industrial content. These thoughts were prominently in Sri Nehru's mind through 1954 and 1955. At the meeting of the National Development Council on November 9, 1954, in the course of an opening address, he offered some important reflections.

> " Planning ", he said, " is not putting down just as you want; planning is not merely giving priority to all things which you wish to do. Planning is something wider and deeper. . . . Now, the first thing I should imagine about planning is to have a definite picture of where you are going to; one cannot frame vaguely, just doing good deeds from day to day like the boy scouts, or putting up good enterprises which are good, of course, but we have to have some definite picture. I do not mean to say it should be a rigid picture; it may be a changing picture as we gather experience, information, etc. Nevertheless, we have to plan for something. ".

Under developed countries

Then he went on to describe the problems of "under-developed countries and poverty-stricken people, more or less, chiefly agricultural, trying to industrialise themselves. "

He said:

> " the mere fact of dealing with these vast populations is an exacting operation—changing them not at the top, not by laws passed by Parliament, but changing the human will, and taking them out of that static condition of mind and social habit which has been their lot for a long time ."

He continued:

> " I wish to lay stress on that. The Planning Commission is of no use at all if it has a static outlook. That way, we sit, we sleep, we rest. One must have that dynamic outlook of change, change of every kind—political, of course economic and social. "

Central theme

A moment later, he came to his central theme.

> " The picture I have in mind is definitely and absolutely a Socialistic picture of society. I am not using the word in a dogmatic sense at all, but in the sense of meaning largely that the means of production should be socially owned and controlled for the benefit of society as a whole ".

In this picture there was plenty of room for private enterprise, provided the main aim was kept clear. The dominance that private enterprise had throughout the world during a certain period was out of date; indeed, any system based on the acquisitiveness of society was not only absolutely out of date but also immoral.

Industrial Policy

From this perspective and approach, Sri Nehru went on to speak of industrialisation and industrial growth:

> " We as an under-developed country, industrially under-developed, have continually to fight trying to cross that barrier of under-development, so that we may be able to go a little faster ."

> " Now, if we think in terms of building up our industry," he said, " we must give up the idea of continually getting machines from abroad. We must build them here. I see it is just obvious. . . . We must aim at producing machines, the basic things, here. "

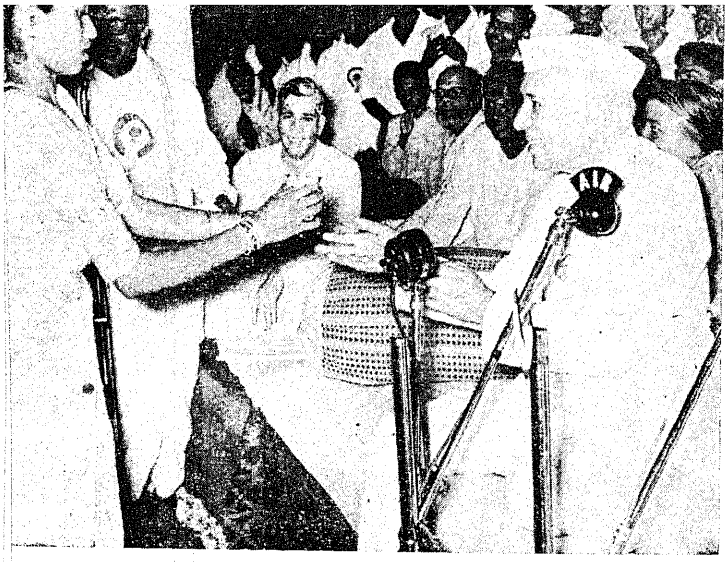
Thus, in a single speech ten years ago, Sri Nehru anticipated, as in a flash, Parliament's Resolution of December 1954 on the socialist pattern of society, the Avadi Congress, the Industrial Policy Resolution of April 1956 and a considerable part of the strategy of development towards a self-reliant economy proposed in the Second and the Third Five-Year Plans.

The Second Plan

These trends in thinking influenced the formulation of the Second Five-Year Plan and indeed became an organic part of it. In retrospect, it is possible to see why, without being committed in detail. Sri Nehru was greatly attracted to the scheme of development outlined in the Draft Plan Frame prepared by Professor P. C. Mahalanobis. Sri Nehru saw the approach in this document as marking a turn towards acceleration in economic growth, towards basic changes in the industrial and technological structure, application of science and scientific method on a larger scale and promise of a self-reliant economy which itself possessed the means to achieve rapid economic progress and solve urgent social problems.

Socialism and Planning

This was a period of intense debate and criticism, but Sri Nehru adhered throughout to all his fundamental propositions. He expressed them most completely in two important addresses, one delivered to the Standing Committee of the



Sri Nehru, who presided over the 16th anniversary of Gandhigram on 1st December 1963, is seen in the picture awarding a cup to Miss Angammal who had her training in Gandhigram, for having spun in an Ambar Charka Spinning competition 2½ hanks in an hour.

National Development Council on January 7, 1956, and the other to the National Development Council on January 20, 1956. In these, he declared that it was our firm policy to go towards a socialist structure of society. "Taking India as it is," he said, "I think we have the background here, the urge and the necessity for going in that direction." This would be a long-term process. For this purpose, long-term planning was essential so that we have some clear idea of what in 15 years' time we hope to achieve. Shorter plans must be fitted in with the broad general scheme. "Ultimately, we should develop that structure of society which encourages the right impulses and not the wrong impulses, the right trends and not the wrong trends." Sri Nehru believed in our capacity in India in winning over people rather than fighting them.

He said:

> "We can bring about social changes and developments under pressure of events, by the pressure of democracy and also by friendly co-operative approach rather than the approach of trying to eliminate each other and the stronger party winning. I think we can do that even in the industrial field."

Perhaps it is in this phase that Sri Nehru's views on the general concepts of planning came to be most clearly defined. He emphasised that planning and, specially democratic planning, meant consultation with as large a number of people as possible from all over India, but the approach to planning not only depended more and more upon the broader objectives, but had to be a statistical approach. Hence the growing importance of statistical data, sample surveys and calculation at every stage of the results of the action we contemplate. Planning meant the interlocking of production, consumption, employment and a large number of other things, like transport, social services, education and health. In seeking the objective of Socialism, there should be some precise content about the goal, about the methods and about the means by which you seek to achieve the goal.

Scope for Public Sector

Sri Nehru did not wish merely to nationalise and waste resources in compensating private parties, but certain fields of activity should be sacrosanct for the State, and the public sector should be given much greater scope. Subject to these, there should be every opportunity and freedom for private enterprise to grow and we should increase and encourage every element to produce and help in nation-building. There should be much greater stress on the heavy machine-making industry as that was to be the basis of industrial growth. He declared:

> "you must go to the root and the base, and build up that root and base on which you will build up the structure of industrial growth. Therefore, it is heavy industries that count, nothing else counts, excepting as a balancing factor which is of course important. We want planning for heavy machine-making industries and heavy industries; we want industries that will make heavy machines and we should set about them as rapidly as possible because it takes time."

These thoughts led directly to the revision of the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 and the new Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956, which has since held the field. The approach to industrial development set out in this Resolution was applied successively to steel, coal and oil, in each case after a degree of controversy. In steel and oil, in particular, without strong personal support from Sri Nehru it would have been difficult to proceed very far. These trends were helped by what was at the time a new factor in India's development, namely the offer of economic and technical aid by the Soviet Union.

Rural economy

Sri Nehru saw planning as a movement, in thinking and action, from the political to the social and the economic plan. As he observed in the National Development Council in May 1956, when

the final draft of the Second Five-Year Plan was being considered, the more one considered the complexity of planning, the greater was the fascination for it. " The new problems which arose at every step ", he said, " gave confidence in ourselves and the ability of the people to achieve development ".

Already, at this stage, Sri Nehru's mind had begun to turn from industry to agriculture and the rural economy. Emphasising the great importance of food production for the Second Plan, he said, in a sense, the whole Plan depended upon food being relatively abundant and the price of it not being high. Community Projects and the National Extension Schemes were of great importance, for they were changing the minds and, to some extent, the habits of the people in the rural areas, apart from the material benefits which they brought. But they should devote greater attention to the production of more food, for this was the primary purpose for which they were started.

Co-operatives and Panchayati Raj

In the three years that followed, Sri Nehru's influence and direction led to a number of important decisions in the rural sector. In November 1958, the National Development Council adopted a resolution on ' Co-operative Policy '. For the development of co-operation as a people's movement, the Council declared that it was essential that co-operatives should be organised on the basis of the village community as the primary unit, and that the responsibility and initiative for social and economic development at the village level should be placed fully on the village co-operative and the village panchayat. At the same session of the National Development Council, the decision was taken to introduce State Trading in foodgrains at the wholesale level. The policy was worked out in detail in the succeeding months but, for reasons upon which it is not necessary to dwell here, it remained substantially unimplemented. Earlier in January 1958, the National Development Council had taken a major step in deciding upon establishing a system of democratic institutions at the village, block and district levels which later came to be known as Panchayati Raj.

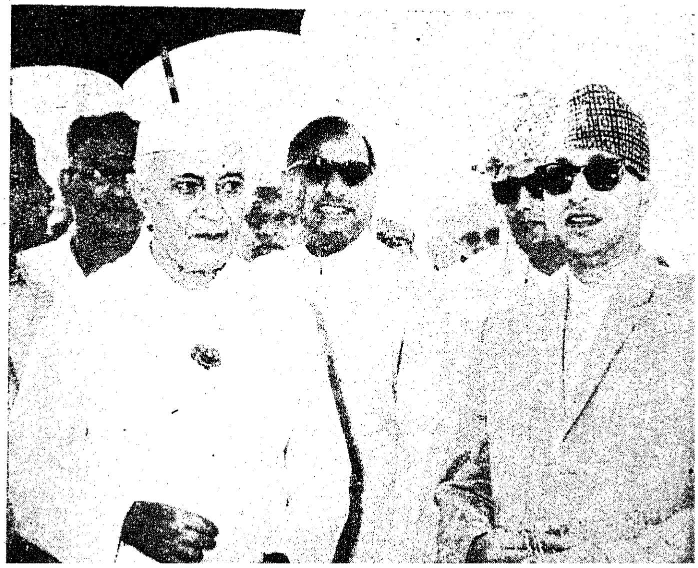
At this stage in the country's development, Sri Nehru also felt concerned at slow progress in carrying out co-operative farming and in implementing the programme for land reform. On both issues, there had been considerable discussion at the highest level when the Second Plan was being formulated. Sri Nehru had thrown his weight decisively on the side of co-operative farming and agrarian reform. The Second Plan had envisaged such essential steps being taken as would provide sound foundations for co-operative farming, so that over a period of ten years or so a substantial proportion of agricultural lands could be cultivated on co-operative lines. Similarly, proposals in the Plan for agrarian reform represented a broad common approach to be adopted and pursued in each State as part of the National Plan with due regard to local conditions and in response to local needs. The principles of change and reorganisation on which the schemes of land reform were, based were conceived as part of the wider social and economic outlook which must needs apply in some degree to every part of the economy.

These were basic approaches to fundamental national problems. They were accepted by the States and at the political level but, on account of weaknesses in political organisation and in administration, action had lagged far behind. It was natural, therefore, that the Resolutions of the Congress at Nagpur early in 1959 should be devoted to these and other agrarain problems.

Issues for the Third Plan

By this time, Sri Nehru was thinking again of the future and, specially of the Third Five-Year Plan and beyond. In a long series of meetings in the Planning Commission, in November and December 1958 and early in 1959 Sri Nehru explored the question of basic objectives which should be set for the future. It was now less necessary to stress the need for building up a strong industrial base and an economy of self-sustained growth, for these concepts had come to be fully integrated into India's approach to planning and the issues which now arose had to be dealt with primarily at the technical, administrative and financial levels. Action for economic and

The late Prime Minister with the King of Nepal at the foundation stone laying ceremony of the barrage over the Gandak River in Nepal on May 4, 1964.



social change in the rural areas lay largely in the States. Sri Nehru felt more and more concerned with lags in education, with the need to ensure certain minimum amenities to the mass of the people in the rural areas, with the problem of slum clearance and slum improvement in the cities and, more acutely than ever before, with the welfare of children. The emphasis in the Third Five-Year Plan on these aspects of development was strongly influenced by the views which Sri Nehru urged repeatedly within the Planning Commission and in other forums.

Steel and Coal

As work on the Third Five-Year Plan progressed through the Draft Outline to the Final Report, three questions came to the fore and drew Sri Nehru's personal attention. The first concerned, the targets for steel and coal and, through these for the development of heavy and basic industries. Sri Nehru left no doubt in the minds of his colleagues that these, along with power and rural electrification, were essential objectives, that the Bokaro Steel Plant had to be given the highest priority and that the target for steel should not be less than ten million tons.

Size of Investment

The second issue concerned the size of investment in the Third Plan, specially in the public sector. There was a significant gap between the financial requirements of programmes accepted for the public sector in the Plan and the resources which were indicated. The Plan adopted the approach which Sri Nehru had proposed, namely, that the physical programmes to be accepted for implementation over the five-year period should not be altogether limited by the financial resources immediately in sight at the stage of drawing up the Plan, although the outlays incurred would have to be regulated with reference to the actual resources mobilised from year to year. Behind this was Sri Nehru's confidence in the future and his view of the nature of planning. His advice was that the programme for industrial development, including power, transport, technical education and scientific reserach should proceed in a connected manner in accordance with the approved scheme of priorities so that as the requisite foreign exchange became available corresponding internal resources are also found and rapid progress is assured. Whatever could do ourselves by way of advance action or otherwise should be done, for the costliest thing in planning was time lost due to in action. Opportunities should be seized upon as they came and there should be readiness to take a measure of risk in speeding development.

The third issue which exercised Sri Nehru was the need to set forth the social objectives of planning as clearly as possible. The Planning Commission, the Central Cabinet and the National Development Council gave a great deal of time to the section in the Third Plan on ' objectives of planned development ', but it lacked Sri Nehru's touch. Accordingly, at the request of the National Development Council, Sri Nehru took the draft to Kulu, worked upon it paragraph by paragraph adding substantial portions and improving upon others and, thus emerged the final statement which forms the first Chapter of the Third Plan Report.

In this Sri Nehru linked present developments to the aspirations and outlook of the leaders of our national movement, drew the economic progress and welfare of each country into the larger context of efforts to build up a liberated humanity brought out the intimate connection between national objectives and the maintenance of world peace, and ended, finally on the following note:—

" Planning is continuous process and cannot be isolated for short periods. Thus, the Third Five-Year Plan is a projection and a continuation of the First and the Second Plans, and it will lead to the Fourth and subsequent Plans. Planning is a continuous movement towards desired goals and, because of this, all major decisions have to be made by agencies informed of these goals and the social purpose behind them. Even in considering a five-year period, forward and long term planning has always to be kept in view. Indeed, perspective planning is of the essence of the planning process. As this process develops, there is a certain rhythm of expansion in the development of the people, and sense of enterprise and achievement comes to them. They are conscious of a purpose in life and have a feeling of being participants in the making of history. Ultimately it is the development of the human being and the human personality that counts. Although planning involves material investment, even more important is the investment in man. The people of India, to-day, with all their burdens and problems, live on the frontier of a new world which they are helping to build. In order to cross this frontier they have to possess courage and enterprise, the spirit of endurence and capacity for hard work, and the vision of the future. "

In the second year of the Third Plan, with the aggression by China, came a critical moment for planning. Some said that the Plan would have to be heavily pruned, even set aside and some agencies in the Government began to give a low priority to the Plan. However, at the height of the crisis, early in November 1962, Sri Nehru set his face

Sri Nehru who inaugurated the riding Club, Guindy, Madras, in 1959, is seen riding a horse.

firmly against any attempt to nibble at the Plan from within. We are at the cross-roads of history, he said to the National Development Council, and are facing great historical problems on which depends our future. The Plan was the warp and woof of our national life and it was the war effort itself that requires the Plan. The basis of the Plan is to strengthen the nation, to increase production, of course non-essential expenditure should be kept down and too much must not be spent on big buildings and construction, but the basic objective of the Plan was to strengthen the nation, and therefore, the Plan should be looked upon as an essential part of the national effort. The support which Sri Nehru gave at this stage and in the succeeding months made it possible not only to continue the Plan, but also to enlarge its scope in a number of vital directions.

Securing a National Consensus

Planning in a federal and democratic structure necessarily brings up difficult problems from time to time. Sri Nehru was always conscious of these. As far back as 1951, he had decided to set up the National Development Council. The influence which this Council acquired over the years was in large measure Sri Nehru's personal contribution. At the very first meeting in November 1952 and in many subsequent meetings, Sri Nehru stressed that the Chief Ministers of States bore intimate responsibility for the Plan in all its phases. As Chief Ministers, they shouldered heavy responsibility for their States and naturally had to think of their States but, at the same time, as members of the Council, they had to shoulder responsibility for the whole of India and had to look upon every question from national point of view.

In addition to building up a continuing partnership between the Centre and the States in the formulation and implementation of economic plans and policies, Sri Nehru stressed at every stage the need to achieve a national consensus, to seek the counsel of various political parties and other groups and to bring to bear the entire weight of the nation in support of the Plan. Sri Nehru succeeded to a very large extent in both the aims he had set himself. It may be permissible to add that on its part, from the beginning, the Planning Commission has endeavoured to translate Sri Nehru's outlook into appropriate working relations with the States and to function in all matters as an institution wholly committed to the national good.

HE LIKED RIDING

In 1930 he rode through Lahore, on horseback, with flowers profusely showered on him from the verandahs. When the Cabinet Mission in 1946 moved to Simla he again rode on a horse to and from Viceregal Lodge, disdaining a rickshaw. This horsemanship was perhaps not a minor characteristic. The French people where perceptive when they shouted to the returning Bourbon in his chariot that "we want a king who rides". A firm whip hand was indeed sometimes needed to keep peace at Congress meetings. In defence of law and order, Panditji could plunge into an affray between volunteers and others on the session floor; he could also use a quick tongue, as when one of the delegates at Lahore, embarked on a long speech on the wrong resolution, apologized and was indignantly told that "You ought indeed to be very very sorry."

Nehru on Cinema

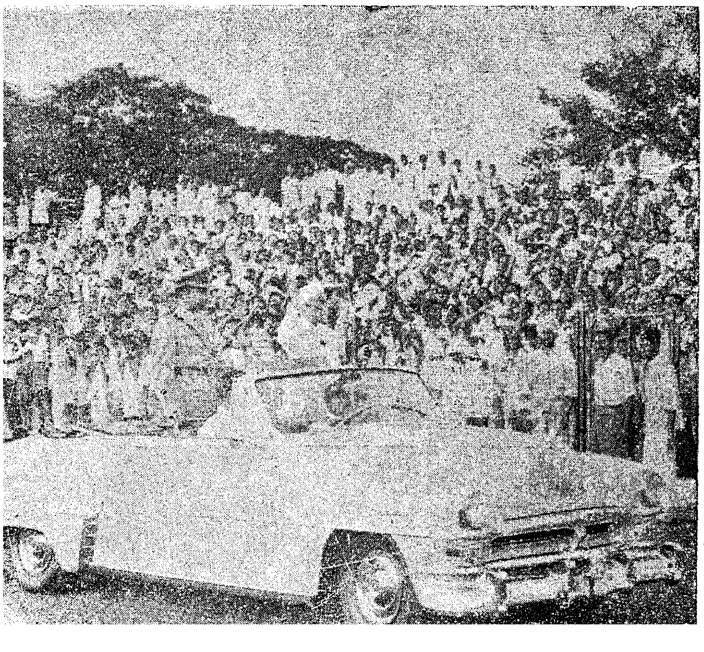
Jawaharlal Nehru, took a keen interest in the development of the arts, and the cinema came to share his sympathetic appraisal, which is duly reflected in the following excerpts from his observations on this fast-developing art-industry.

Progress and public taste

I must pay this tribute to those who built it up in the past 20 or 30 years. They built something big without much assistance and it is very creditable to them that from scratch they have built this huge industry and, undoubtedly, produced from time to time some very notable films.

Of course, many people criticise the quality of many of the films from their rather highbrow point of view, and their criticism from that point of view is justified, highbrow or not. I am not speaking for myself. I am not very interested in melodrama. It bores me. I fall asleep.

Sri Nehru at the Childrens' rally at the Corporation Stadium, Madras in 1959.



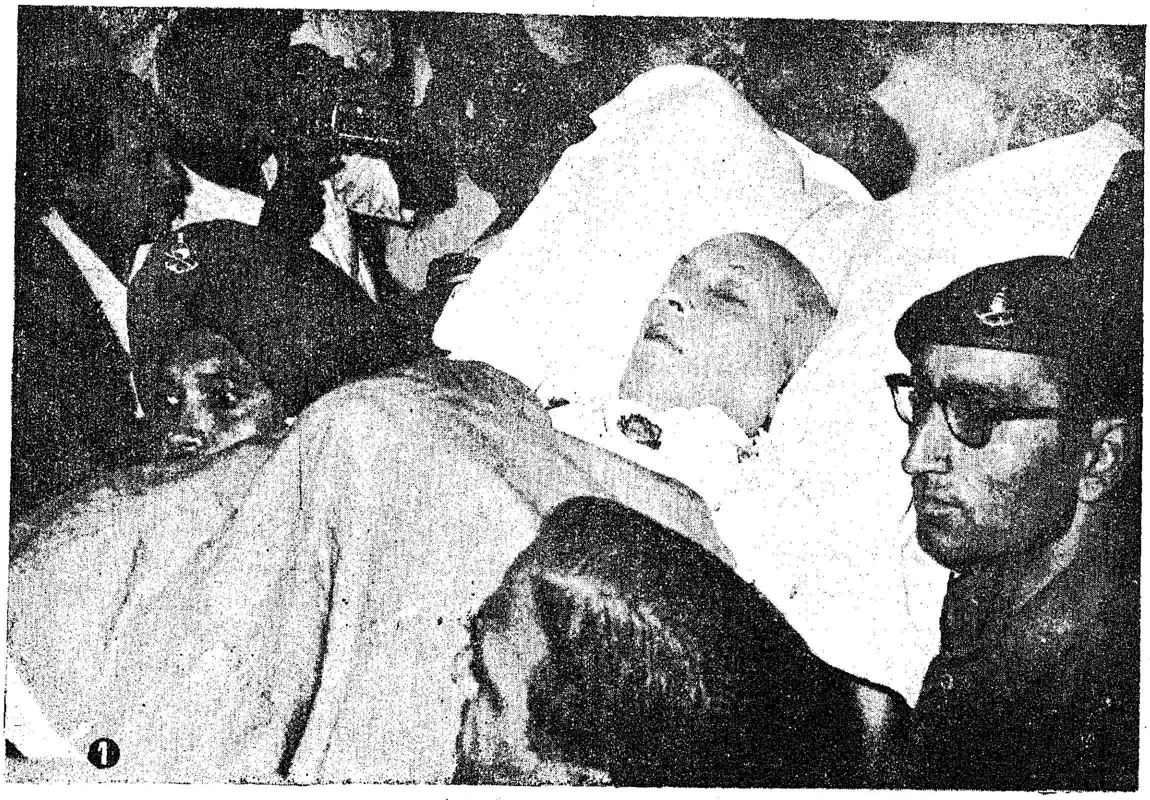
But, to some extent, we have to meet problem here which is not an Indian problem, it is a common problem. It is melodrama that interests large numbers of people, whether in India, England or America or any other country. The type of melodrama may vary. Public taste, to some extent, moulds what is presented to it. At the same time, what is presented should mould the public taste. Like action and reaction.

Censorship

I do not take favourably to too much restriction or too much censorship. On the other hand, it is quite absurd, it seems to me, for anyone to talk about unrestricted liberty in important matters, affecting the public, to leave people to do what they like.

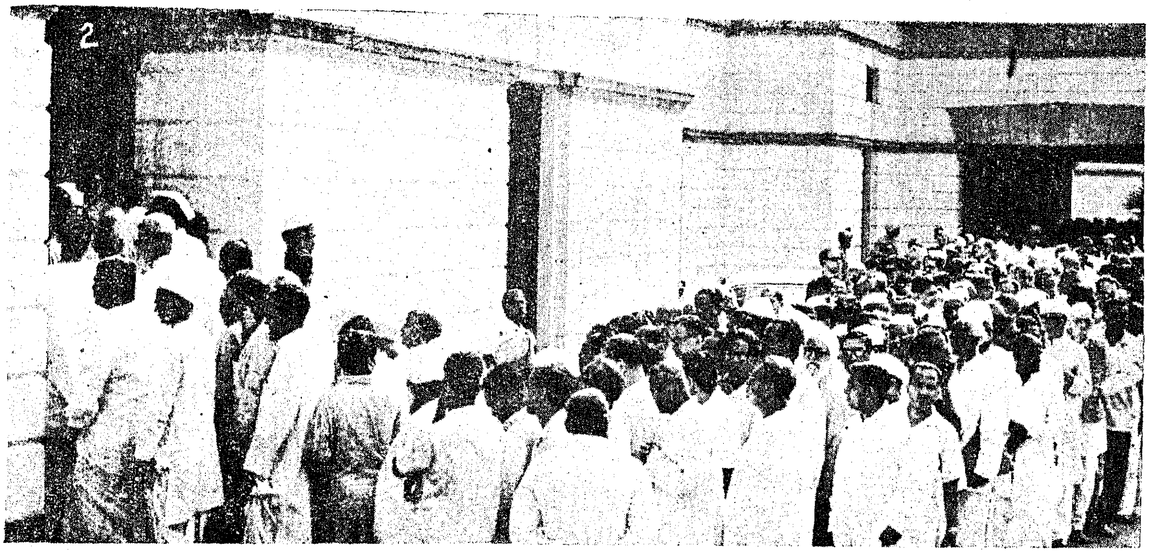
Obviously, the Government must take action to prevent something which it considers and society considers evil from spreading too much. On the other hand, it is a dangerous thing for a Government to become too much of a judge even of people's morals, if I may say so. At any rate, I do not think it desirable for a Government to become that kind of judge.

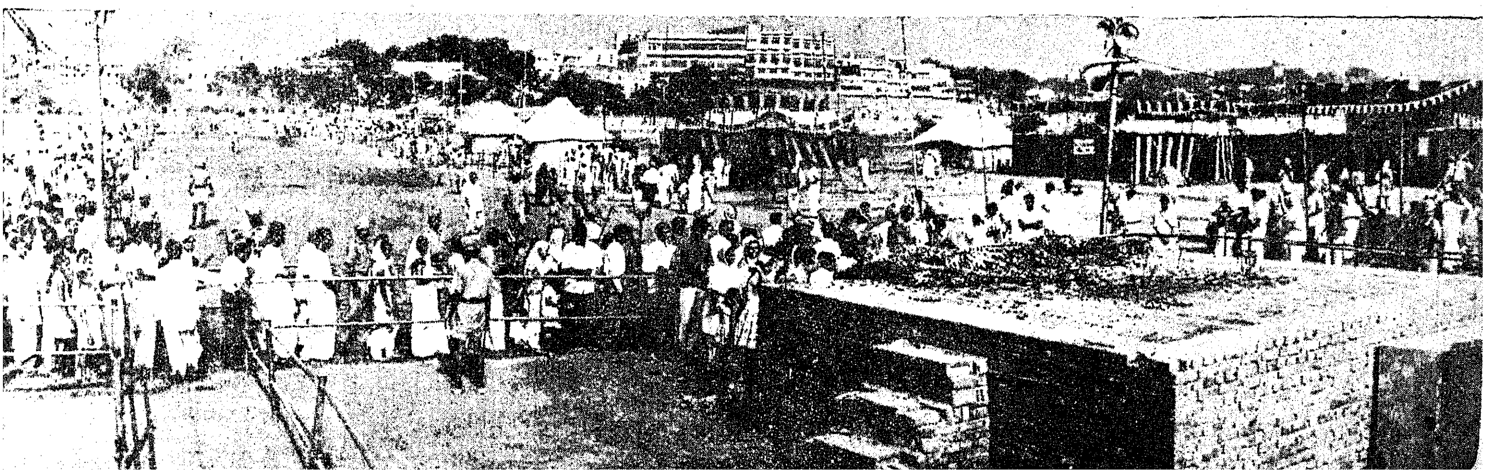
In between, of course, there is a large latitude or freedom of the individual for things to develop and I do not see why there should be much argument about this matter. There might be, as to where the lines are to be drawn. Anyhow, with regard to that argument, the best thing is to have that argument and to discuss every aspect of it and then to arrive at some conclusion. I do not take kindly to too much regulation and regimentation and more specially in matters which obviously are things of the spirit : music, dance, literature and the like.



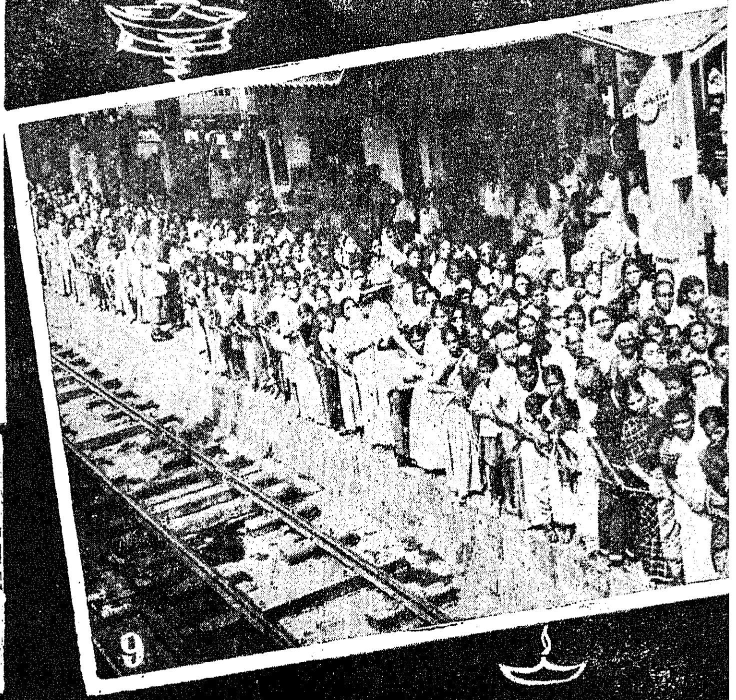
1. The body of the late Prime Minister, is being placed for the view of the public.
2. Crowds of mourning people gathered at the Prime Minister's House, as the news of his passing away spread in the Capital on May 27, 1964.
3. Grief stricken people are paying their homage to the departed leader at the site of the cremation.

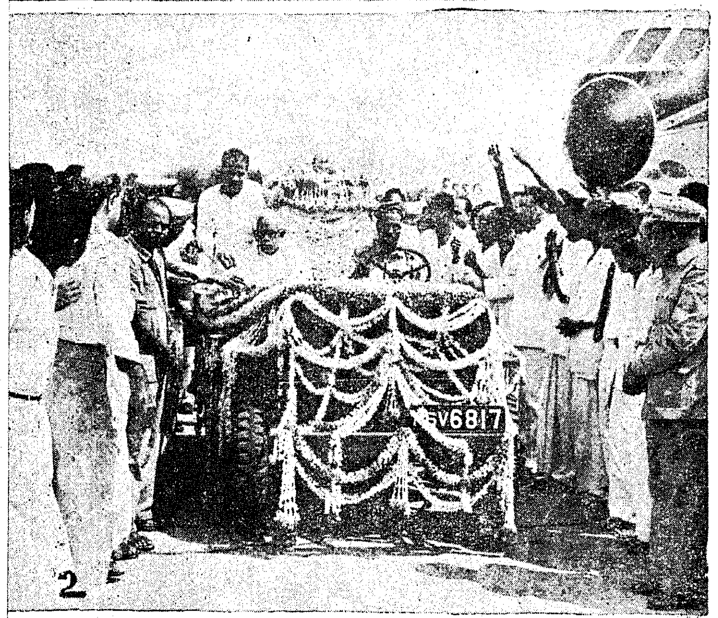
THE END OF AN EPOCH



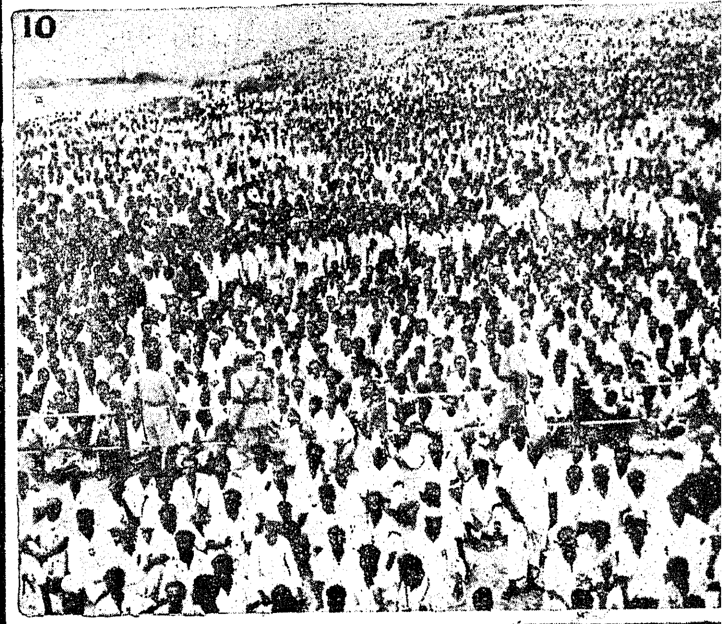


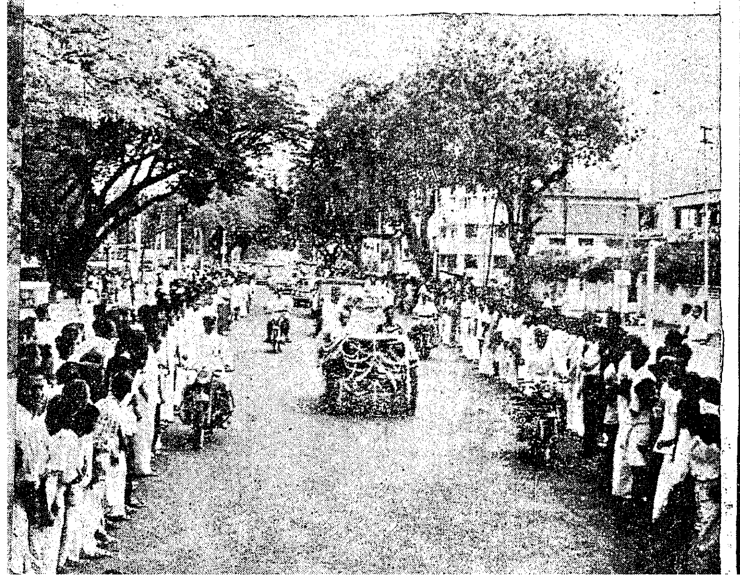
1. Sri M. Bhaktavatsalam, with the ashes of Sri Nehru at New Delhi.
2. The urn containing the ashes is placed on the jeep at Meenambakkam Air Port.
3. On the way to Rajaji Hall.
4. A view of the Children's Procession led by the Chief Minister started from Sathyamurthi Bhavan and ended at Rajaji Hall.
5. Sri S. K. Chettur, is placing a wreath on behalf of the Government on the urn at the Railway Station.
6. A vast gathering of people at Tiruchi Junction.



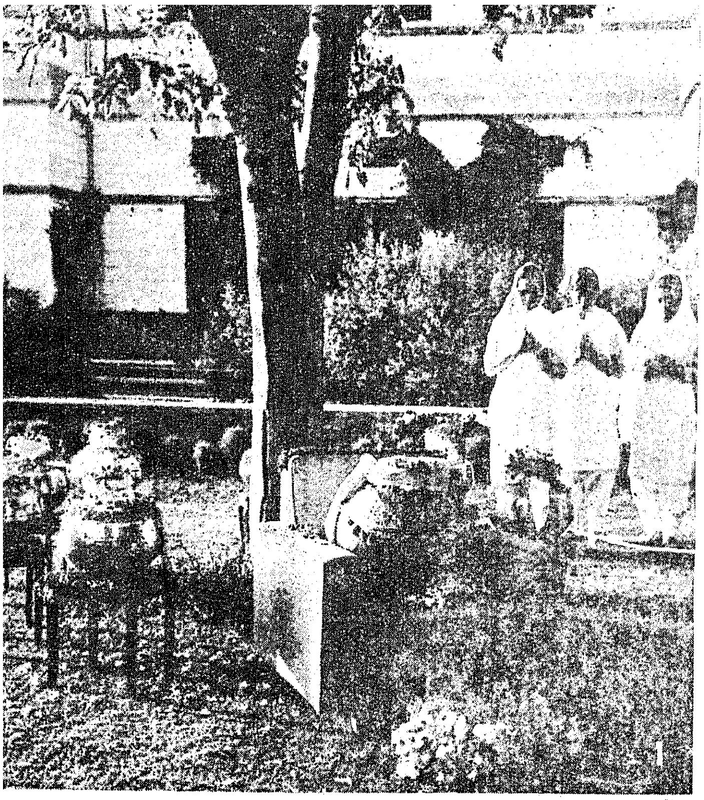


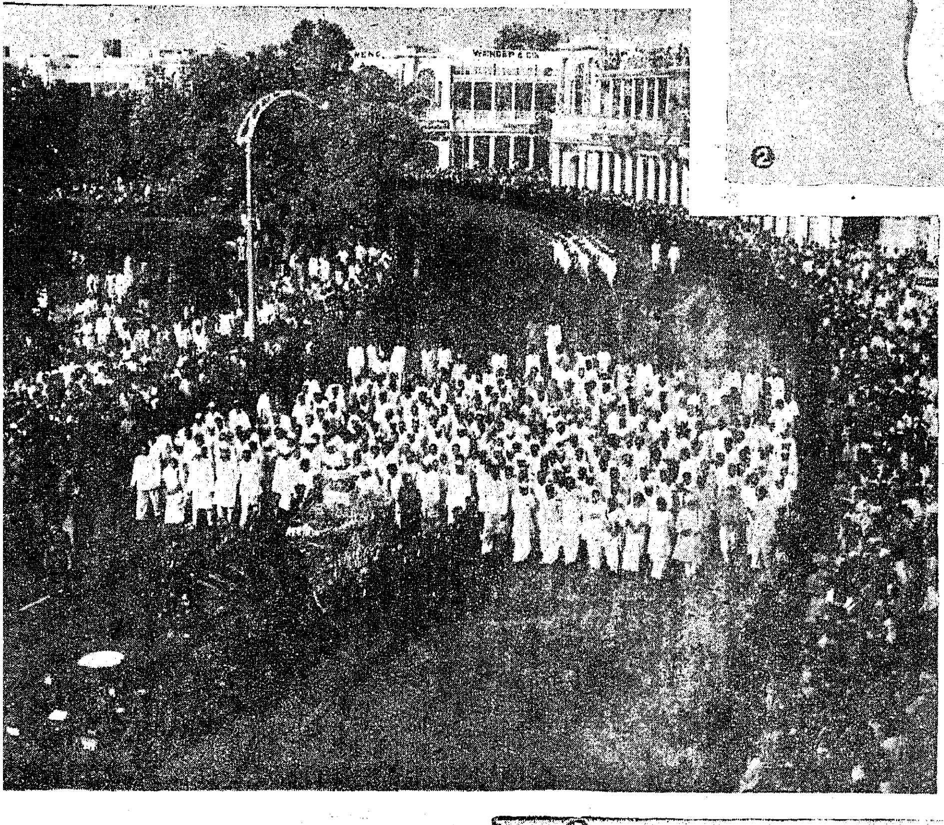
Madras State's HOMAGE TO JAWAHARLAL



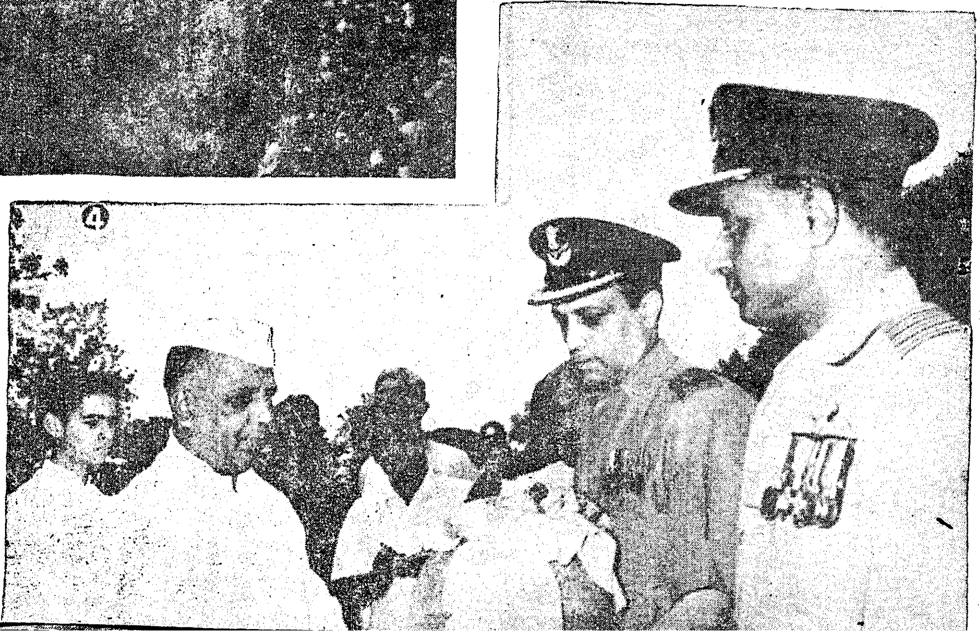


7. The Governor of Madras placing a wreath on the urn at Rajaji Hall
8. On the way to Egmore Railway Station.
9. Woman and Children are waiting at Madurai Railway Junction.
10. Vast gathering at Kanyakumari at the immersion ceremony of the ashes.
11. Sri M. Bhaktavatsalam with the ashes before its immersion in the Kanyamari Sangam on 8th June 1964.





ASHES TO THE Sangham



The sofa chair having the main urn is the one on which the late Prime Minister usually relaxed under a tree in the garden of his House.

2. Rajiv and Sanjay carrying the urn containing the ashes of Sri Jawaharlal to place it on the gun carriage.

3. The procession of the funeral urn carrying the ashes of the late Prime Minister as it passes through Connaught Place, New Delhi. The gun carriage is followed by leaders.

4. Sri Y.B. Chavan, Defence Minister handing over the ashes to Group Captains Khanna and Sen for aerial scattering.

An Architect OF PLANNING

The most enduring contribution in the economic field under Sri Nehru's leadership is the development of a modern industrial base, with emphasis on the building up of heavy industries and steel. In the scheme of priorities, agriculture also had had a high place, and though food production has sizably increased over the years, it has not come up to expectations and the earlier hopes of self sufficiency in food have not been fulfilled.

Thus, Sri Nehru has laid the foundations of a modern society in which science and technology have been given their due place. He initiated a network of scientific laboratories which gave the country its present scientific temper.

Mixed economy

The idea of a mixed economy in which both the public and private sectors have well-defined roles to play, supplementing and complementing each other, was Sri Nehru's contribution to economic planning. His personal dissatisfaction with big business did not prevent him from bringing a pragmatic approach to problems of economic development. He saw that the private sector had an important contribution to make to the country's progress. He did not let rigid dogma come in the way of fully utilising the private sector's capacities.

Sri Nehru's ideas were enshrined in the famous Industrial Policy Resolution which continues to be the sheet-anchor of industrial development. His pragmatism has been evident in the implementation of the resolution which has been flexible enough to permit greater association of the private sector and foreign capital even in some of the key industries such as pig-iron, fertilisers and oil, which at one time, were supposed to be exclusively reserved for the public sector.

It was Sri Nehru who gave the country the concept of Planning as a tool of economic development. Even as a Congress leader, he showed an interest in planning techniques, influenced as he was by the Russian experiment in this sphere, and got his party to think increasingly in terms of planned development.

For Sri Nehru, planned development was an adventure, requiring the nation to give of its best, and he encouraged the planners to plan in a big way. When there were doubts and hesitations about the feasibility of a large plan, it was Sri Nehru's encouragement which steadied the weavers.

His socialism

Sri Nehru's years in the Government tempered the fiery socialism of his youthful days first inspired by the Russian Revolution. But it was a measure of the man that, though firmly wedded to the socialist ideology, he was realistic enough to

The late Prime Minister Nehru during his visit to the city in 1954.

realise that he should proceed cautiously so that extreme measures did not damage the established pattern beyond repair.

Foundation laid

All in all Sri Nehru's long innings gave the country a fairly stable economy within a democratic framework. No doubt, there have been stresses and strains. The foreign exchange situation continues to be precarious. Agriculture has not progressed at the desired pace. Exports have remained stagnant for many long years and cannot pay for imports in full.

But the foundations have been laid for quick progress in an agriculturally and industrially backward country, with an antiquated social system. That India is now stepping into the modern age is the measure of Sri Nehru's success as the first Prime Minister and as the unquestioned national leader.

Economic Plan for Progress

Three distinct influences can be traced in the evolution of Sri Nehru's economic ideas. Early studies of Marxist philosophy and British Fabian thought, the Russian revolution and, finally, the problem of Indian poverty profoundly affected his views and convinced him of the need for socialism in India.

His growing sensitivity to India's poverty made him think of the "terrible costs of not changing the existing order". Marxism had pronounced the doom of imperialism and Sri Nehru saw in political freedom not the end but the means of establishing a socialistic structure of society. This basic approach was to last throughout his life, though the doctrine of non-violence and Gandhiji's influence made the Russian example less and less relevant. At the Lahore Congress (1929) he confessed that he was "a socialist and a republican"; later at the Karachi session (1931) his influence was patent in the Congress resolution on economic policy which said that "the State shall own or control key industries and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping and other means of public transport".

The only key

Soon after he found support in the left wing of the Congress, by then organized into the Congress Socialist Party, and occasionally clashed with Gandhiji in resisting ideas which he felt might dilute socialist objectives. As President of the Lucknow Congress (1936), Sri Nehru declared his faith that "Socialism was the only key to the solution of the world's problems and of India's problems" and added: "Socialism is however something more than an economic doctrine; it is philosophy of life and as such also it appeals to me."

Planning begins

Interest in planning, as a means of effecting social and economic changes needed for moving towards socialism, came next in this evolution of the economic philosophy. Throwing himself zestfully into the work of the National Planning Commission set up by the Congress in 1938, he showed his readiness to co-operate with other persons drawn from business, universities and other walks of public life with dissimilar ideals. Sri Nehru then had a foretaste of some of the practical problems of socialist transformation, which later confronted him as Prime Minister and Chairman of the Planning Commission, like the apparent conflict between the objectives of greater production and of equitable distribution. That class conflicts should as far as possible be avoided and co-operative enterprise preferred to concentration of industrial power in private hands were some of the other ideas which crystallized during this phase. He summed up this rehersal in planning thus: "It was based on planning for the benefit of the common man, raising his standards greatly, giving him opportunities of growth and releasing an enormous amount of latent talent and capacity. And all this was to be attempted in the context of democratic freedom and with a large measure of co-operation of some at least of the groups who were normally opposed to the socialist doctrine".

Disarmament or Disaster?—Choice before World

Sri Jawaharlal Nehru

"We live in an age of great revolutionary changes brought about by the advance of science and technology. Therein lies the hope for the world and also the danger of sudden death. Because of these advances, the time we have for controlling the forces of destruction, is strictly limited. If within the next three or four years, effective disarmament is not agreed to and implemented, then it may be too late, and all the goodwill in the world will not be able to stop the drift to certain disaster. We may not, therefore, delay or postpone consideration of this vital problem, problem.

"In the context of things today, the great nations, the United States and the Soviet Union, hold the key to war and peace. Theirs is a great responsibility, but every country, small or big, is concerned in this matter of peace and war, and, therefore, every country must shoulder its responsibility and work to this end. It is easy to criticise the action or inaction of any country. But this criticism does not help us. It only increases tension and fear, and nations take up rigid attitudes from which it is difficult to dislodge them.

Vital issues

"The issues before the world are too vital to be left to a few countries only or to be affected by personal likes and dislikes. In order to deal with these big issues effectively, we have to take big and impersonal views. It is only the United Nations as a whole that can ultimately solve this problem. Therefore, while all efforts towards disarmament must be welcomed, the United Nations should be closely associated with them.

"The question of disarmament has been considered at various levels. There is general disarmament and the ending of test explosions of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. So far as test explosions are concerned, considerable progress has been made by the Committee which has been meeting in Geneva. Indeed, it would appear that an agreement has been reached there on many basic issues and only a little more effort is needed to complete this agreement. I suggest that a final agreement on this subject should be reached as early as possible. This is not, strictly speaking, disarmament, but undoubtedly any such agreement will bring a large measure of relief to the world.

"Disarmament must include the prohibition of the manufacture, storage and use of weapons of mass destruction as well as progressive limitation of conventional weapons. It is well to remember that there is a great deal of common ground already covered, and various proposals made by different countries indicate this common ground. But certain important questions have not been solved yet. Behind all this lies the fear of surprise attack and of any one country becoming stronger than the other in the process of disarmament. It is admitted that disarmament should take place in such stages as to maintain broadly the balance of armed power. It is on this basis only that success can be achieved, and this pervading sense of fear countered.

Sri Jawaharlal Nehru addressing the U. N. General Assembly on November 10, 1961.

"There is an argument as to whether disarmament should precede controls or controls should precede disarmament. This is a strange argument because it is perfectly clear that disarmament without controls is not a feasible proposition. It is even more clear that controls without disarmament have no meaning. The conception of controls comes in only because of disarmament. It is not proposed, I hope, to have controls of existing armaments and thus in a way, to perpetuate those armaments. It must therefore be clearly understood that disarmament and a machinery for control must go together, and neither of these can be taken up singly.

"It seems very extraordinary to me that great nations should argue about priorities in this matter and make that a reason for not going ahead. Therefore, both questions should be tackled simultaneously and as parts of a single problem. Success may not come immediately. But it is, I think, of the greatest importance that there should be no gap, no discontinuity in our dealing with this problem. Once there is discontinuity, this will lead to a rapid deterioration of the present situation and it will be much more difficult to start afresh.

No postponement

A proposal has been made that this question of disarmament should be referred to a committee of experts. But, in fact, experts have been considering this matter during the past years, and we have the advantage of their views. In any event, any reference to a committee of experts should not lead to any postponement of the major issue. Any such delay may well be disastrous. Possibly while the major issues are being considered by the United Nations Commissions or other committees a reference of any special aspect might be made to the experts. What is important is that the United Nations, at this present juncture, should ensure that there is adequate machinery for promoting disarmament and that this machinery should function continuously from now onwards.

"The fear of surprise attacks or accidental happenings leading to dangerous consequences is undoubtedly present. That itself is a reflection of the climate of cold war in which unfortunately we live. The best way to deal with this fear is to reduce this international tension and create an atmosphere which will make it very difficult for any surprise attack to take place. In that atmosphere even some accidental happening might lead to a final crisis. In addition to this, such other steps as may be considered necessary for the prevention of surprise attacks should be taken. Thus, if there is an agreement on stoppage of nuclear tests and the use of carriers, immediately danger from surprise attacks will be greatly lessened."

(Address to the UN General Assembly, October 3, 1960).

HIS POLICY PREVENTED WAR MANY TIMES

Lord Bertrand Russel, 92 years old British Philosopher and nuclear disarmer, said that Sri Nehru was "a man who despite 14 years of imprisonment showed no bitterness towards those who had taken his time from his personal and public life."

"If we try to imagine what that means—a period of the greater part of the independent life of India—we can better understand the magnitude of his contribution to mankind.

"The non-alignment he formulated prevented war on more than one occasion. His desparate people are one nation. I hope those who damned him while he lived will not try to embrace him in the name of things he loathed.

"Only weeks ago I heard from him. He was full of plans and was coming to London. We who knew him grieve his death."

—RUSSEL

Nehru as the Journalist

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is a forceful writer and good leader writer. A clue to a man's mind is often to be found in his choice of words. Among Nehru's favourite words were 'dynamic' and 'artistry' and his life, thought and action abound in both. He was vital and vibrant in most of the things he said and did but there was also a grace of the feminine in most of them.

The National Herald's (Lucknow) story of those days would read like the story of the running battle. There will be no rest or relaxation. Under Jawaharlal's instructions the paper kept the flag flying. He made the paper what it was. He gave it tone and character and standing. Leading articles under his name appeared often. He used to discuss about display and make-up and deplored any fall from Standards. Strong writing he insisted but was not for abusive writing. Even in criticising the British Government dignity was to be maintained. He talked of Indian affairs, foreign affairs, journalistic problems and whenever he was in Lucknow he spent most of his time in National Herald's Office.

He often wrote to the National Herald from prison.

The National Herald first appeared with a three-column long article by Nehru from Budapest. He presided over the directors' meetings with zest and talked to the members of the staff with kindly interest.

He had worked from the first day of the publication. His first leading article was the Death-Dealer' the subject matter being the Atom bomb test at Bikini. No editor could have had a better beginning.

Sri Jawaharlal was Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Associated Journals who published the National Herald from September 1938 and directly guided the policy and destinies of this paper till September 1946 when having become the Vice-President of the Governor-General's Council, he resigned.

JOURNALISTS AND THE LANGUAGE

I have been always attracted by languages in the abstract. Word is a powerful thing. When some of our newspapermen rapidly and quickly translate the words spoken from one language to the other, I marvel at their industry and brilliance; because the real fact of the matter is you cannot really translate from one language to the other. You may give a good idea of what you find in other languages, but you cannot possibly convey all the imagery which a word has in its own language. You must forget the word and translate the spirit of it in the other language. I do not think even journalists do these things always.

From Nehru's Speech at Rajaji Hall on 6th January 1957 releasing the fifth Volume of the Tamil Encyclopaedia.

Sri Nehru at the Meenambakkam airport in 1959.

President's Tribute

We will work for the ideals he cherished

—Dr. RADHAKRISHNAN

The following is the text of President Radhakrishnan's message to the nation broadcast by AIR on May 27, 1964.

In a moment so charged with emotion, I do not wish to say much; nor is there any need for it. It is an occasion when every one of us, man, women, and child, wish to keep our thoughts to ourselves and render in a mood of reverence grateful homage to a life of great service and dedication.

Close of an epoch

Jawaharlal Nehru was one of the greatest figures of our generation, an out-standing states-man whose services to the cause of human freedom are unforgettable. As a fighter for freedom he was illustrious, as a maker of modern India his services were unparalleled. His life and work have had a profound influence on our mental make-up, social structure and intellectual development. It will be difficult to reconcile ourselves to the image of India without Nehru's active and all-pervasive leadership. An epoch in our country's history has come to a close.

As a man, Nehru combined a fine sensitivity of mind, a rare delicacy of feeling, with large and generous impulses. To the week and the frustrated his heart went out in profound sympathy. He was an author of distinction. His *Autobiography* which tells the story of his life and struggle without a touch of self-pity or moral superiority, is one of the most remarkable books of our time.

Lived for the Country

Nehru held the office of the Prime Minister of our country ever since the dawn of independence; and in the long years of his premiership tried to put our country on a progressive, scientific, dynamic and non-communal basis. His steadfast loyalty to certain fundamental principles of liberalism gave direction to our thought and life. We can understand the endless surprises of his attitudes and actions; all these fall into their place if we remember his faith in democracy and freedom. He used the existing social and political institutions and breathed into them a new spirit, a new vitality.

Nehru by his series of public utterances educated our people to an appreciation of the values he had cherished. He fought for a high level of human life and burnt his ideals into the understanding of the common people. By his own powerful and vibrant voice, which we will not hear any more, he created, moulded, inspired and kindled a whole generation of Indians, to a loyalty to the first principles which he held so dear. It is not enough to have great ideals. We have to work for their achievement. Time is the essence of the situation and Nehru had a great regard for the sanctity of time. The pitiless exactions of time take no denial and so the great leader has fallen.

Belief in Planning

Though nurtured in a life of sheltered case and comfort, he drew himself into the national struggle and became a great leader second only to Gandhi. The part that he played in the national struggle and in the final settlement of the India question in 1947 are a part of recent Indian history.

Nehru realized even before the advent of freedom that our economic regeneration, our progressive modern lives cannot be achieved, unless there is concerted planning. After the transfer of power as the Chairman of the Planning Commission it was he that gave dynamism and power to the various plans which are now being implemented.

The path of Nehru as a nation builder in the early years of India's freedom was beset with fantastic difficulties and formidable challenges. The partition of the country resulting in the

exodus of millions of people from one part of the sub-continent to the other amidst scences of appalling riots, loot and arson brought in its wake problems—political and economic, which defied easy solution. We have outbreaks of communal violence here and there in our country even now. This must have seemed to Nehru a terrific disillusionment of his great work, inherited from Gandhi and developed by himself.

Isolation impossible

Nehru always had a conviction that India cannot be viewed in isolation from other States of the world. Even before the advent of freedom, he was pleading that the Indian question was a part of the large movement of the oppressed people, fighting against colonialism. He had a love of liberty, not merely for his own people, but for all people of the world. He, therefore, expressed sympathy and support for all liberation movements in Africa, Asia and South America. He believed in the liberty of all without distinction of class, creed or country.

Nehru was a great believer in world peace and the concept of one-world community. No one had shown greater faith and allegiance to the Charter of the United Nations than Nehru He realised that in a thermo-nuclear age, war would mean the extinction of all civilised values. That is why he was convinced that the true role of a statesman in this distracted world lay in the way of lessening tensions and conflicts and bringing about a climate of understanding and mutual accommodation, with a view to settlement of international differences without resort to the horrors of war. On several international questions such as Korea, Laos, Congo and Vietnam his was the voice of peace and friendship and his voice was always heard with respect.

Integrating force

His courage, wisdom and personality has held this country together. It is these qualities which should be cherished, if we are to hold on. Our thoughts today go out to him as a great emancipator of the human race, one who has given all his life and energy to the freeing of men's minds from political bondage, economic slavery, social oppression and cultural stagnation.

Those of us who are left behind to mourn his loss could do no better than work for the ideals he cherished. That is the best tribute we can pay to our departed leader.

MORALITY OF THE NATION

Jawahalral was not merely a servant of the Indian nation but was a servant of suffering humanity. The blow which fell on us is the greatest we have had after the passing away of Mahatma Gandhi and he was trying to put into practice all the great ideals which Mahatmaji taught us. You know the statement Mahatmaji made; " I wish to wipe every tear from every human eye.' Jawaharlal was fond of repeating that statement and by the application of science and techonology to the reconstruction of our social order, he tried to alleviate the suffering of our common people and make them feel that they are being treated as full first-class citizens of our community. So his insistence on science and social reconstruction have been fundamental features in his whole outlook. Besides, he felt very strongly that nations, like individuals, should also observe moral principles. They have to obey moral obligations. They can't be regarded as above all rules. They must treat themselves as subject to laws. A State must have a conscience of itself. If it loses its conscience, it may pile up wealth, it may make extraordinary powerful weapons but its ultimate end is sure. So it is that he told us to practice morality even with regard to our day to day problems. It is a rule which is there in the nature of things and it calls upon all of us to practice some self restraint even with regard to national interests. When they come into conflict, when your economic and political interests come into conflict, throw away economic and try to have the spiritual interest practised by you. Whatever be the work which you are doing, whatever particular detail you are cencerned with, the one question you should ask is: Am I here trying to serve my own interests or am I serving the requirements of my nation. That should be the way in which every problem should be tackled and faced.

—Dr. RADHAKRISHNAN.

Let us work with Selfless Devotion

The following is the text of Sri Gulzari Lal Nanda's broadcast to the nation on the passing away of Sri Jawaharlal Nehru

Brothers and sisters,

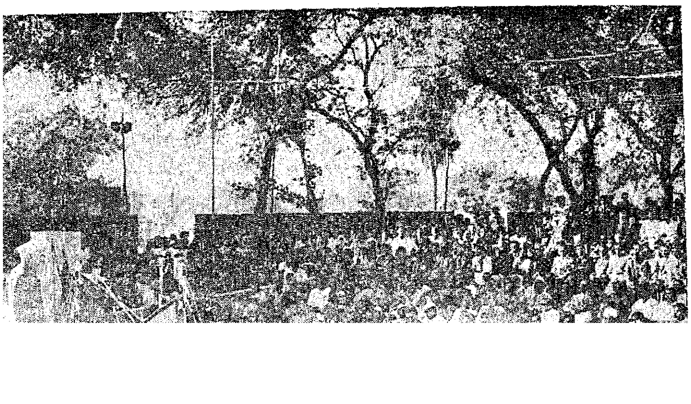
I am speaking to you in an hour of profound grief and under an over- whelming sense of loss. This is a moment of the deepest sorrow for each of us individually and, indeed, for the entire world.

I have been called upon by the President to step into the breach and undertake the duties of the Prime Minister until the Congress Party in Parliament elects a leader and the President invites him to form the Government. As I speak to you, I feel a strong wrench in my heart—the breaking of a lifelong association with our beloved leader.

A glorious personality

One of the greatest sons of India has passed away. A life of the rarest nobility and dedication has suddenly come to an end. This is not the end of an individual life only but of an era in the life of this nation. The effulgence of this era will continue to light the path of many a generation to come. For seventeen long years, Jawaharlal Nehru held aloft the torch of India's freedom, giving every day and hour of his life completely to the service of India and of humanity. These years in the life of the nation have borne the stamp of his great and glorious personality. His greatness and glory will live for ever.

The late Prime Minister delivering the inaugural speech at the Eighth Inter-University Youth Festival held on November 11, 1963 in the Talkatora Gardens, New Delhi.



Millions of our people and millions elsewhere knew and loved him. He had entered into their lives and thoughts and given meaning to them as only Gandhiji could. Their visit of India was his vision. The values for which he lived were their values. He inspired them and in turn their love and faith sustained him.

The light has gone

He leaves a void which can never be filled. Who is there in India who can shoulder the great burdens of the nation which he carried. My mind goes back to another dark hour of that sad day, the 30th January 1948, when the Father of the Nation ceased to be in our midst. Jawaharlalji in his broadcast to the nation that evening said "the light has gone out from our midst. May it live a thousand years". This is how all of us feel today.

A unique life

It will be difficult for us to adjust and accustom ourselves to an India without Jawaharlal Nehru. We owe it to our departed leader to carry out the great tasks and carry forward the great ideals he had set before us. At this hour, Jawaharlalji would have asked of us but one thing : "To work with selfless devotion and to serve all our people with faith and courage".

The Nation has to live. The problems before us have to be faced and solved. This will be assured only if we all keep together and work in faith and unity.

Jawaharlalji's life was one of unique and unparalleled service. We of this generation who received so much from him can serve by serving the ideals for which he laboured to the very end. Thus alone can we fulfil his mission.

JAI HIND

Chief Architect of Modern India

GOVERNMENT'S TRIBUTE TO NEHRU

The Government of India has issued an obituary notification in a black bordered special issue of the *Gazette of India.*

The notification said :

" The passing away of India's beloved leader and Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, on May 27, 1964, has plunged the whole Nation into the profoundest grief. The country has suffered its greatest loss since the death of the Father of the Nation. Jawaharlal Nehru belonged to the whole of mankind, as he belonged to the people of India and the world to-day mourns the departure of this great figure. A valiant fighter for the people of India all his life, Jawaharlal Nehru was the chief architect of modern India. His entire life was dedicated not only to the ideals of national freedom, unity and solidarity but equally to those of world peace and progress. "

After giving a brief life-sketch of Mr. Nehru the notification said :

Dedicated to U.N. Ideals

" Jawaharlal Nehru was dedicated to the ideals of the United Nations and the principles of the Charter. He addressed the third General Assembly session in Paris in 1948. His last appearance at the United Nations was in 1960. There he moved a significant resolution stressing the need for world peace and urging the leaders of the great powers to renew their contacts. He was the first head of Government to support the partial Test-Ban Pact signed by the three nuclear powers in August 1963.

" He strove tirelessly against war and for total disarmament. He initiated and supported action for the liberation of dependent countries. He fought against the exploitation of man by man and worked ceaselessly to bring freedom from fear and hunger not only to his own people but to the world at large. He set his face against all political and military blocks as the greatest impediments to world peace.

" Not the least abiding of Jawaharlal Nehru's contributions was his concept of a revolution in our national economy through planning within a democratic framework. Even before India had attained freedom, he foresaw the need for economic planning and was instrumental in setting up the National Planning Committee under the segis of the Indian National Congress as early as in 1936. When freedom came, the earlier efforts bore fruit. The Planning Commission was set up and in 1961 India embarked upon her historic series of Five-Year Plans. The acceptance of economic planning as a way of life by many new free nations is an eloquent tribute to his basic social and economic thinking.

Worked for unity of Nation

" Jawaharlal Nehru was unremitting in his endeavour for the unity and solidarity of the Indian nation. He struggled ceaselessly to blend the different elements of our national life into an integrated social structure. He fought against all the barriers of caste, religion, and language and for the uplift of the less privileged. He constantly affirmed the secular concept of our State as necessary for all sections of the people to live together in peace and harmony.

Sri Nehru in his characteristic mood at the Industrial Exhibition held at Madurai in 1959.

" Jawaharlal Nehru was a distinguished man of letters. He utilised his spells in prison to write 'autobiography', 'Letters from a father to his Daughter', 'Glimpses of World History' and 'Discovery of India' which have found a permanent place in literature.

" Such was the man who led his country for so many decades and administered it so wisely for eighteen years—an upholder of the noble values of human life and the dignity of man.

" There could be no finer epitaph for Jawaharlal Nehru than that which he himself suggested in a pensive mood, with characteristic humility—'If any people choose to think of me then, I should like them to say 'this was a man who with all his mind and heart loved India and the Indian people. And they, in turn, were indulgent to him and gave all their love most abundantly and extravagantly.' "

" That loving memory of the Indian people, and indeed, the peoples of the world, will always cherish for Jawaharlal. For, as Rabindranath Tagore said, 'He had never fought shy of truth when it was dangerous, nor made alliance with falsewood when it would be convenient.'

NEHRU'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS GOD

At the seventieth year of Nehru's life, one of his closest friends, Smt. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, who knew him from very early age, proceeded to say that " by far the greatest lack in him is his inability to believe in God " ; and that pious elderly lady continued to hope that for him some day faith will transcend reason and that belief in God will come to his rescue and be for him the anchor that it has been for so many great men during periods of storm and stresses, whereby they were able to face and surmount crisis. It puzzled some people how Gandhi, with his absolute faith in God, should have accepted the atheistic Nehru as his right-hand man and, in a very real sense, dearest to himself. But Gandhi had his answers. On one occasion, during the days of the Individual satyagraha in 1940 Nehru's arrest by the Government was practically certain and a sense of sadness was in the air, he had come to Sevagram to see Gandhi. As he was taking leave, the wife of the Mahatma blessed him and said: 'God will look after you'. There-upon Nehru turned to her with a smile and said; 'Where is God, Ba ? If exists, He must be very fast asleep.' This evoked hearty laughter from Gandhi who knew and often used to say: While Jawaharlal always says he does not believe in God he is nearer God than many who profess to be His worshippers. A strict adherence to Goodness and Truth was to Gandhi as good as a sincere devotion to God, and when he found the former in Nehru, he did not care to think if the latter were missing.

—*From the book, the Political Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru.*

The Queen's Tribute to "The Architect of Modern India"

Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II has sent the following message to the President of India on the death of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru :—

"I am deeply grieved to hear of the death of Mr. Nehru, who will be mourned throughout the Commonwealth and among the peace-loving peoples of the world.

My husband and my family join me in sending our deep and sincere sympathy to you and to the people of India in the irreparable loss which you have suffered."

The Queen has also sent personal messages of condolence to Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.

British Prime Minister's message

In a message addressed to the Government of India on behalf of the British Government, the Prime Minister, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, said: "My colleagues and I are deeply distressed to learn of Mr. Nehru's death. We mourn the death of the architect of modern India, a wise and far-sighted world statesman, and above all an eminent and respected Commonwealth leader.

"His death will be a grievous loss to the Commonwealth and to the world. We send our heart-felt sympathy and condolences to the Government of India on their great loss."

"A man of Peace"

Before leaving for Delhi, Sir Alec said at London Airport: "Everyone will feel that in the death of Mr. Nehru we have lost a man of great character and distinction, and that this is a loss to the whole of the world.

"He used to talk to me of the aspirations for his own people and of his ideas of how to make a better and more peaceful world.

"He was, above all, a man of compassion and a man of peace. He took a leading part in the campaign of his own country for independence, but once India had gained independence, bitterness never entered into his mind and he was the first to lead his great country into the Commonwealth of Nations in partnership with Britain.

"He was a man of magnanimity and great breadth of mind and of vision.

"Mr. Nehru was more than a national leader. He was a philosopher, with great distinction of mind, who cared very deeply about the affairs of ordinary people. His influence spread far outside his own country."

"I go to-day to India to pay the respect of Her Majesty's Government to a brilliant colleague and a friend of our country.

Lord Mountbatten

Before leaving for Delhi, Earl Mountbatten, Britain's Chief of the Defence Staff, said: "I am flying right away to Delhi to attend the funeral of one of my greatest friends, Jawaharlal Nehru. It was a privilege to be associated with him in 1947 and 1948 in India, where I learnt to know him, respect him and admire him.

"He was one of the great figures of history, and the world is the poorer for his passing.

"He was a most magnanimous man who never showed the slightest personal resentment at being kept so many years in prison by us. He was a great fighter for Indian national freedom, and when his life's work was crowned with success he was a big enough man to grasp the hand of friendship held out to him by the British."

Mr. Harold Macmillan

Mr. Harold Macmillan, former British Prime Minister: "The loss to India is incalculable. Mr. Nehru has led India as an independent country for 17 years, and has devoted his whole life to the service of the Indian people. The loss to the Commonwealth is almost equally great.

"I had the privilege of close and intimate working with Mr. Nehru over many important Commonwealth problems, and was able to see something not only of his immense knowledge and skill in public matters but also of his unfailing courtesy and understanding.

" Mr. Nehru was a world figure, and the whole world will mourn."

Earl Attlee

" Mr. Nehru was a great world figure and perhaps might be regarded as a doyen of world statesman."

Lord Attlee, who was British Prime Minister' when India became independent in 1947, said that Mr. Nehru's place would be very difficult to fill.

He added: " I should like to express my sympathy with his daughter and other members of the family in their great loss."

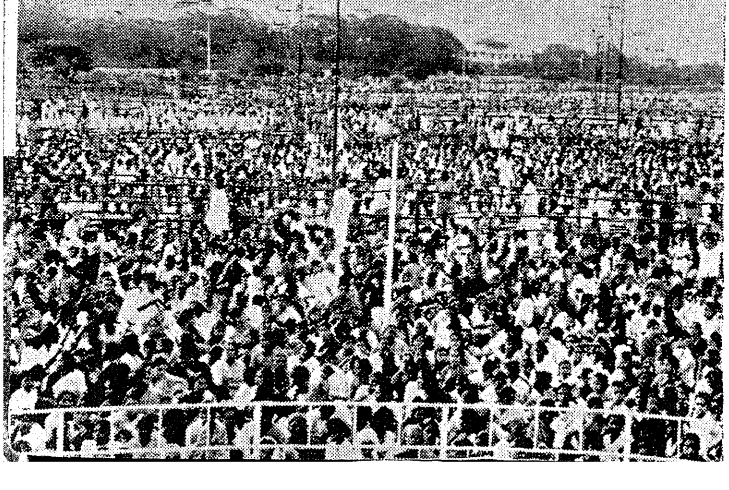
Sir Anthony Eden

Another former Prime Minister, the Earl of Avon (formerly Sir Anthony Eden), said: " I deeply regret to hear of Mr. Nehru's death, which is a tragic loss for India and a grievous misfortune for the free world."

Mr. Butler

Mr. R. A. Butler, Brithish Foreign Secretary, said in a message to Mrs. Pandit: " I should like to express my deep sorrow at your brother's death. In him we have lost a world statesman, and I a personal friend. You have my deepest, sympathy in your sorrow."

Wherever Sri Nehru spoke ne was a draw with the People. Here is a view of a gathering at Marina when lakhs of people listened to him in rapt attention.



Mr. Sandys' message to Mr. Pandit said: " Marie Claire and I send you our deep sympathy in your grief. Your sorrow will be shared by innumerable men and women in Britain who respected and honoured your great brother. "

" His message to Mrs. Indira Gandhi read: "My wife and I send you our deep sympathy in your sorrow. Your great father will be mourned by men and women throughout the world, and there are countless people in Britain who feel a sense of personal bereavement."

" Mr. Sandys also wrote a letter to the Indian High Commissioner in London. Dr. Jivraj Metha, in which he said " I learn with sorrow of Mr. Nehru's sudden death His untimely passing is a grievous loss for India and the Commonwealth. We shall long remember his inspiring leadership and the wisdom and the experience he brought to our counsels, The Commonwealth has cause to mourn his loss. I send you my heartfelt sympathy and condolences ".

Premier Khrushchev

" I must speak to you" Mr. Khrushchev said in a television speech on May 27th about the tragic news received from Delhi about the sudden passing away of the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, an outstanding statesman and a great and sincere friend of the Soviet Union. It is a great loss not only fort he people of India but for the whole world. He played a leading role in the srruggle of India's liberation and the subsequent programme of national regeneration and building up of new life. He worked till the last hour of his life to serve the highest ideals of humanism. I had occasion more than once to talk to this great statesman and I saw in him a person who clearly understood the signficance of friendship and co-operation between Soviet Union and India and between the peoples of the two countries. On behalf of the Soviet Government, on behalf of the Soviet peoples and on my own behalf I would like to offer our most sincere and deep condolences to the President of India Dr. Radhakrishnan, to the Government Of India, to the people of India and to the family of late Prime Minister Nehru on this great loss. The memory of Prime Minister will always remain alive in the hearts of the Soviet people and all those to whom the cause of friendship and co-operation between Soviet Union and India is dear."

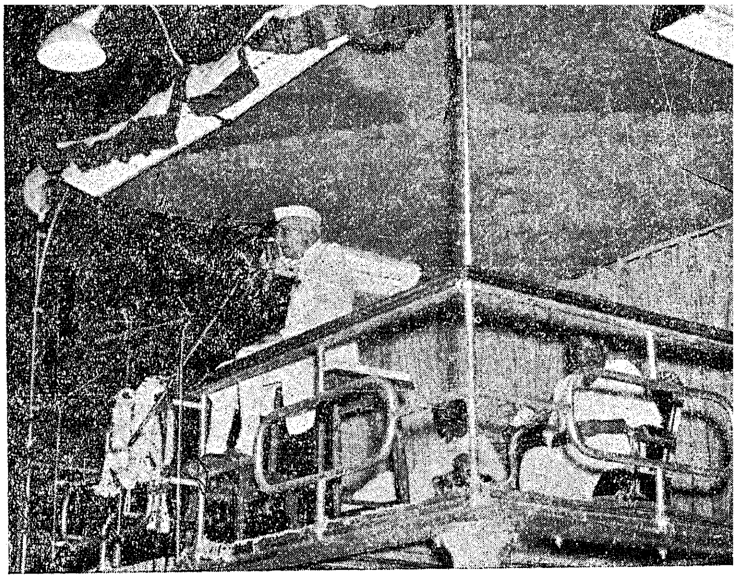
President Johnson

"I find it difficult" Mr. Johnson said, "to express the sense of personal loss which I feel as the result of the death of your father. His passing has left his country and all mankind to whom he gave so much in word and deed the poorer.

"I shall always treasure my all too brief association with Prime Minister Nehru. He was always so generous of his time as he was to many of my countrymen. His comfort at the time of the assasination of President Kennedy was a great source of strength to me. That we should lose this great man so soon after our own loss grieves us more deeply than we can express.

"I know the sorrow you must feel at the loss of your father. He had much more to offer India. Yet you will be sustained, I know, in the knowledge that history will always remember the crucial part he played in India's struggle for independence. His leadership and wisdom were indispensable at its most critical years and his devotion to the great Indian adventure of freedom was unwavering. History will also record his leadership starting the world on the road to an enduring peace.

"Mrs. Johnson joins me in extending our deepest sympathy. Sincerely, Lyndon B. Johnson."



The late Prime Minister speaking at a public meeting in Marina.

Pope Paul

The English text of Pope Paul's message to the President of India, made public in Vatican City on Friday, said, "We offer Your Excellency and the beloved people of India our heartfelt condolences on the passing of your Prime -Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and our deep sympathy in the loss suffered by his death, particularly by his immediate family.

"We ask God to bestow upon Your Excellency and upon the people and Government of India copius graces of consolation and comfort in this bereavement."

GANDHI AND NEHRU

Gandhi once said of Nehru: "He is quite capable of mounting the gallows with a smile on his lips."

Once while speaking at London Jawaharlal said of Gandhiji: "On almost everything on earth I differ from him Yet he is invaluable. I follow him.'

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya said on one occasion: "Gandhi is the inspiration, Jawaharlal the instrument. If Jawaharlal analyses, Gandhi synthesises. If Jawaharlal soars high, Gandhi broadens the base and balances his centre of gravity."

He Ruled Through The Nation's Heart

The Press

The New York Times paid this tribute to Mr. Nehru in an editorial on May 28.

India's love

Jawaharlal Nehru and India bore great love for each other, and from India's love came Nehru's strength. India's love for this man, this man, who could be so demanding, so tender, so impatient, so involved, so aloof, so merry, so brooding, gave him the greatest of all powers—the power to rule through the heart of a nation.

Lesser leaders have used the love of their people wantonly, to master their people. But Nehru refused to turn power into despotism. Dictatorship was within his grasp and at times India seemed to be thrusting it upon him. He refused. The insistence upon an India free in independence was his gift, born out of love, for his country.

A puzzling question

Who was Nehru and what sort of man was he and what did he believe in ? There is a particular piognancy in the fact that until the day he died and left his beloved India bereft and weeping the world asked these questions in puzzlement.

Part of the fault lies in the nature of Nehru and in the nature of India. He was given to the resounding vagueness, the pensive posture, and there were times when history moved too quickly and caught him frozen and awkward. Strangely, though, Nehru was more a man of action than of philosophy. He dipped into a variety of systems of thought, including Marxism, and was attracted by them, but wanted to get on quickly with India's problems—a malfunctioning water system in Delhi one moment, a malfunctioning national economy the next. He moved quickly through life, reaching out towards India.

Sri Nehru with pearl divers at Tuticorin in 1959

Two things he was

A large part of the failure to understand Nehru lies in the world's insistence upon seeing him reflected in foreign mirrors—the mirror of Algeria, or SEATO, or Hungary or whatever—instead of interpreting him squarely and directly for the two things he was. Jawaharlal Nehru was an Indian and he was a revolutionary.

He was an Indian. He was educated abroad and he travelled widely, but only on the soil of India was he happy and at home and did life have purpose. What he did, he did for India. He was a sensitive man who knew India could not live isolated, protected by mountains and seas. He knew the glories of India and her moments of tranquillity and he knew her wretchedness and despair and he could not separate himself, even, from any of them, nor wished to.

A disciple of Gandhi, he was a revolutionary. He was in revolution against foreign rule and everybody remembers it. But what is so often forgotten was that he was in revolution for things as well as aginst them—for a reassessment by every man and nation of the kind of world in which men starve and go cold and are aching with disease. Within his own society, he was a revolutionary, constantly haranguing his own people about their own superstitions and encrustments. He was a revolutionary in international councils, and a successful one, in that he was the first to prove that a nation without military might could and would be heard by the militarily mighty.

A passing incident

The records, the books and the newspapers of the past few decades are dotted with great events and conferences in which Nehru played

a role. But none of these played a larger part in the character and formation of Nehru than a passing incident that took place 44 years ago—a visit by Nehru to an Indian village. He saw there what he had not seen often before—the anguished peasant face of India—and he wrote :

"They showered their affection on us and looked on us with loving and hopeful eyes, as if we were the bearers of good tidings, the guides who were to lead them to the promised land.... A new picture of India seemed to rise before me, naked, starving, crushed and utterly miserable. And their faith in us, casual visitors from the distant city, embarrassed me and filled me with a new responsibility that frightened me."

Jawaharlal Nehru, whom India called her jewel, never laid down that frightening responsibility. He loved India and he died beloved by her.

The Radio

Broadcasting organizations all the world over have covered prominently the news of Mr. Nehru's sad demise. Several stations suspended normal programmes to play solemn music and to pay tributes to the late Prime Minister.

The *BBC* (May 27, 1445 hrs.) was the first among the foreign stations, to cover the news of Mr. Nehru's death. In its 1630 hrs. bulletin, the Radio reported the decision of the British Prime Minister, Sir Alec Douglas Home and Earl Mounbatten to fly to India immediately for Mr. Nehru's funeral.

In a tribute to Mr. Nehru, Francis Watson said in a commentary (May 27, 1640 hrs. and 2140 hrs.) "Dogma he always did avoid, almost obsessively. The readiness to think aloud was probably unique in a man of his position, probably dangerous, certainly disarming".

In a special edition of radio newsreel, devoted entirely to Mr. Nehru's death, the BBC (May 27, 1930 hrs.) broadcast recorded tributes of Earl Mounbatten, Mr. Harold Wilson, Dr. Jivaraj Mehta and the Radio's New Delhi Correspondent, Ivor Jones. The feature also contained recorded voice of Mr. Nehru.

Voice of America (May 28, 0640 hrs.) lead the broadcast with President Johnson's moving tribute to Mr. Nehru. It also features recorded messages of Mr. Dean Rusk, the Senate majority leader, Mr. Hubert Humphrey, the minority leader Senator Dirkson and the speech of Adlai Stevenson made in the U.N. Security Council.

In a commentary, the Radio said, "Mr. Nehru's overriding objective was to unite India and make it a modern, prosperous nation. Advocating mediation and compromise to solve the problems not only of his nation but of the world as well, the late Prime Minister consistently sought to mediate in many religious and regional divisions within India and to weld its citizens into a united people. In International affairs as well, Mr. Nehru laboured to lessen tension.

Radio Moscow (May 27, 1630 hrs.) said, "The Soviet people have received the news of Mr. Nehru's death with profound sorrow. The Soviet Union highly valued Mr. Nehru's struggle for world peace. He was a true friend of the Soviet people".

Radio Pakistan (May 27, 2030 hrs.) highlighted President Ayub's condolence message to President Radhakrishnan and Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

Earlier, the Radio (May 27, 1740 hrs.) reported that Sheik Abdullah broke into tears when the news of Mr. Nehru's death was conveyed to him.

Radio Peking did not broadcast the news of Mr. Nehru's death till 1930 hrs. on May 27. In a subsequent broadcast, however, the Radio (May 28, 0200 hrs.) briefly reported Mr. Chou-En-lai's condolence messages to Dr. Radhakrishnan and Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

A view of the Public Meeting held in Marina on 28th May 196
to mourn the death of Sri Jawaharlal Nehru.

Radio Netherlands (May 27, 1930 hrs.) said, " In the death of Mr. Nehru we have lost one of the really great figures of the present day world-great because in addition to the immense problems of his own country, he also wholeheartedly championed a peaceful and well-balanced world abroad ".

The Radio also highlighted a Dutch Cabinet statement describing Mr. Nehru as a man of outstanding capacity who had forged his large nation into a united people.

Radio Belgrade (May 27, 2100 hrs.) gave prominence to President Tito's message to Mrs. Indira Gandhi. It also reported that as a token of deep sympathy of the Yugoslav people, flags on all public buildings would be flown half-mast for two days.

Radio Japan (May 27, 2030 hrs. Hindi) said, " India's shining torch has extinguished today plunging the whole country in darkness for ever".

Radio Australia (May 27, 1830 hrs.) said, " Mr. Nehru's death removes from the world's stage one of the giant figures of the century, the maker of modern India, a leader loved by millions and honoured in every country ".

Radio Manila (May 28, 0700 hrs.) said that the people of the Philippines grieved with the whole of India in its loss. Mr. Nehru's name, it added, would never fade as long as there was his dream of peace and his belief in the course of reason over force.

Radio Nepal (May 28, 0820 hrs.) high lighted King Mahendra's condolence message to Dr. Radhakrishnan.

Radio Cairo (May 27, 1815 hrs.) expressed its sense of grief over the sad demise of Mr. Nehru and extended its sympathies to the Indian people in their irreparable loss.

Radio West Germany (May 27, 2120 hrs.) reported that there was widespread sorrow in the Federal Republic over the death of Mr. Nehru, who was highly respected in Germany.

INDIA CLINGS TO ME

I have become a queer mixture of the East and the West, out of place everywhere, at home nowhere. Perhaps my thoughts and approach to life are more akin to what is called Western than Eastern, but India clings to me, as she does to all her children, in innumerable ways; and behind me lie, somewhere in the subconscious, racial memories of a hundred, or whatever the number may be generations of Brahmans. I cannot get rid of either that past inheritance or my recent acquisitions. They are both part of me, and through they help me in both the East and the West, they also create in me a feeling of spiritual loneliness not only in public activities but in life itself. I am a stranger and alien in the West. I cannot be of it. But in my own country also sometimes, I have an exile's feeling.

Jawaharlal Nehru

Jottings from Jawaharlal

Someone said the other day : Death is the birthright of every person born. A curious way of putting an obvious thing. It is a birthright which nobody has denied or can deny, and which all of us seek to forget and escape so long as we may. And yet there was something novel and attractive about the phrase. Those who complain so bitterly of life have always a way out of it, if they so chose! That is always in our power to achieve. If we cannot master life, we can at least master death. A pleasing thought lessening the feeling of helplessness !

(*The Discovery of India*)

Defiance of death

Wonderful is the courage that conquers death !

(*Glimpses of World History*)

The next World

I am afraid the next world does not interest me. My mind is too full of what I should do in this world, and if I see my way clearly here, I am content. If my duty here is clear to me, I do not trouble myself about any other world.

(*Glimpses of World History*)

Not Interested in a future life

Essentially I am interested in this world, in this life, not in some other world or a future life. Whether there is such a thing as a soul, or whether there is a survival after death or not, I do not know and, important as these questions are, they do not trouble me in the least. The environment in which I have grown up takes the soul (or rather the atma) and a future life, the Karma theory of cause and effect, and re-incarnation for granted. I have been affected by this and so, in a sense, I am favourably disposed towards these assumptions. There might be a soul which survives the physical death of the body, and a theory of cause and effect governing life's actions seems reasonable though it leads to obvious difficulties when one thinks of the ultimate cause. Presuming a soul, there appears to be some logic also in the theory of re-incarnation.

But I do not believe in any of these or other theories and assumptions as a matter of religious faith. They are just intellectual speculations in an unknown region about which we know next to nothing. They do not affect my life, and whether they were proved right or wrong subsequently, they would make little difference to me.

(*The Discovery of India*)

A nation does not die

A nation does not die. Men and women come and go, but the nation goes on. It has something of the eternal about it.

(*Address at the Special Convocation of Lucknow University, January* 28, 1949)

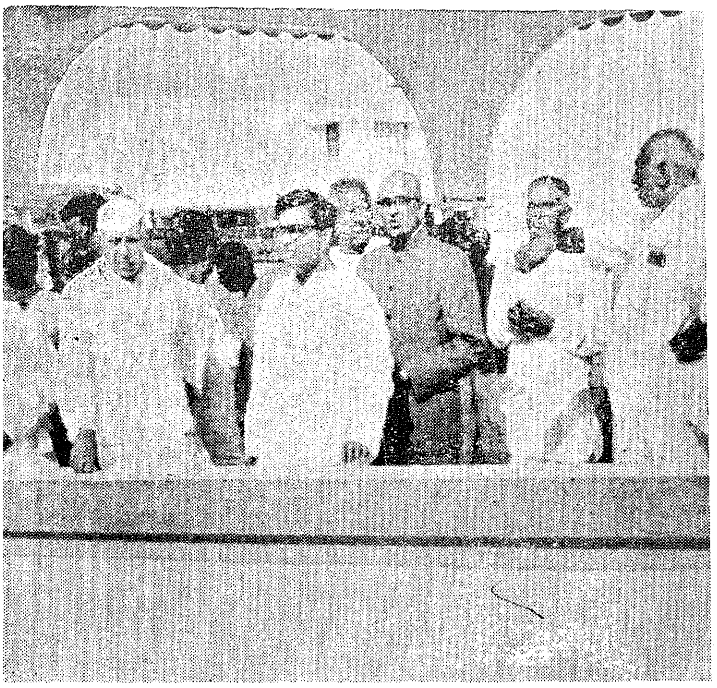
India not afraid of the future

I am not afraid of the future. I have no fear in my mind, and I have no fear, even though India, from a military point of view, is of no great consequence. I am not afraid of the bigness of great powers, and their armies, their fleets and their atom bombs. That is the lesson which my Master taught me. We stood as an unarmed people against a great country and a powerful empire. We were supported and strengthened, because throughout all this period we decided not to submit to evil, and I think that is the lesson which I have before me and which is before us today. I do not know if it is possible to apply this to the problem, but I think if we banish fear, if we have confidence even though we may take risks of trust rather than risk violent language, violent action and in the end war, I think those risks are worth taking.

(*Address to the United Nations General Assembly at Paris on November* 3, 1948)

A confession of Faith

I am not wedded to any dogma or religion, but I do believe,—whether one calls it religion or not—in the innate spirituality of human beings. I do believe in the innate dignity of the individual. I do believe that every individual should be given equal opportunity. I believe as an ideal—it may



Sri Nehru inugurated the Parambikulam Project in 1961 is seen with Ministers and officials.

be difficult to reach it—in an egalitarian society with no great difference; I dislike the vulgarity of the rich as much as the poverty of the poor.

(*Address to the annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi, in March* 1960)

A Nation's personalities

A nation, like an individual, has many personalities, many approaches to life. If there is a sufficiently strong organic bond between these different personalities, it is well; otherwise those personalities spilt up and lead to disintegration and trouble. Normally, there is a continuous process of adjustment going on and some kind of an equilibrium is established. If normal development is arrested, or sometimes if there is rapid change, which is not easily assimilated, then conflict arises between those different personalities. In the mind and spirit of India, below the surface of our superficial conflicts and divisions, there has been this fundamental conflict due to a long period of arrested growth. A society, if it is to be both stable and progressive, must have a certain more or less fixed foundation of principles as well as a dynamic outlook. Both appear to be necessary. Without the dynamic outlook there is stagnation and decay; without some fixed basis of principle, there is likely to be disintegration and destruction.

(*The Discovery of India*)

No, one may not lose faith in Man. God we may deny, but what hope is there for us if we deny Man and thus reduce everything to futility. Yet, it was difficult to have faith in anything or to believe that the triumph of righteousness is inevitable.

(*The Discovery of India*)

My inheritance

What is my inheritance? To what am I an heir? To all that humanity has achieved during tens of thousands of years, to all that it has thought and felt, and suffered and taken pleasure in, to its cries of triumph and its bitter agony of defeat, to the astonishing adventure of man which began so long ago and yet continues and beckons to us. To all this and more, in common with all men. But there is a special heritage for those of us of India, not an exclusive one, for none are exclusive and all are common to the race of man, but more especially applicable to us, something that is in our flesh and blood and bones, that has gone to make us what we are and what we are likely to be.

(*The Discovery of India*)

National heritage

Nothing is more advantageous and more creditable than a rich heritage; but nothing is more dangerous for a nation than to sit back and live on that heritage. A nation cannot progress if it merely imitates its ancestors; what builds a nation is creative, inventive and vital activity.

(*From address at the University of Saugor, October* 30, 1952)

India's voice is truth

Our voice may be feeble to-day but the message it conveys is no feeble message. It has the strength of truth in it and it will prevail.

(*Broadcast talk on the first anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi's death, January* 30, 1949)

Vitality of India

It is not some secret doctrine or esoteric knowledge that has kept India vital and going through these long ages, but a tender humanity, a varied and tolerent culture, and a deep understanding of life and its mysterious ways. Her abundant vitality flows out from age to age in her magnificent

iterature and art, though we have only small part of this with us and much lies hidden still or has been destroyed by nature's or man's vandalism.

(The Discovery of India)

Dynamic India

In this India, crying aloud for radical and fundamental change, in this world pregnant with revolutionary and dynamic possibility, are we to forget our mission and our historic destiny, and slide back to static futility ? And if some of us feel tired and hunger for rest and quiet, do we imagine that India's masses will follow our lead when elemental forces and economic necessity are driving them to their inevitable goal ? If we enter the backwaters, others will take our place on the bosom of the flowing stream and will dare to take the rapids and ride the torrent.

(India and the World)

India and the World

A free India, with her vast resources, can be of great service to the world and to humanity. India will always make a difference to the world ; fate has marked us for big things. When we fall, we fall low; when we rise, inevitably we play our part in the world drama.

(The Unity of India)

A Lesson from Great Master

If I have gained any experience in the last thirty or forty years of my public life or if I have learnt any lesson from the Great Master who taught us many things, it is this, a crooked policy does not pay in the end. It may pay temporarily.

(Speech in Parliament on February 3, 1950)

Right course essential

I am quite convinced that, if we adhere to the right course and do not stray from it, even from the opportunist point of view of some present advantage we shall win through, and any country that bases its case on an essential falsehood cannot gain its ends.

(Speech in the Constituent Assembly on September 7, 1948)

Moral Values

We cannot ignore moral values except at peril to ourselves.

(Broadcast talk on First Anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi's death, January 30, 1949)

Evil flourishes far more in the dark than in the light of the day.

(The Unity of India)

Truth

Let us tread the path of truth and *Dharma*.

(Speech on the occasion of the immersion of Mahatma Gandhi's ashes at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna at Allahabad, February 12, 1948)

True path of man

The true path of man is the path of truth and peace.

(Address at the East and West Association, New York, October 19, 1949)

Governments dislike truth

Evidently Governments do not like people who are always trying to find out things ; they do not like the search for truth.

(Glimpses of World History)

Violence is perilous

The path of violence is perilous and freedom seldom exists for long where there is violence.

(Speech on the occasion of the immersion of the ashes of Mahatma Gandhi at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna, Allahabad, February 12, 1948)

No Government can tolerate the preaching of violence.

(The Unity of India)

Religion

Religions have helped greatly in the development of humanity. They have laid down values and standards and have pointed out principles for the guidance of human life. But with all the good that they have done, they have also tried to imprison truth in set forms and dogmas and encouraged ceremonials and practices which soon lose all their original meaning and become mere routine. While impressing upon man the

awe and mystery of the unknown that surrounds him on all sides, they have discouraged him from trying to understand not only the unknown but what might come in the way of social effort. Instead of encouraging curiosity and thought, they have preached a philosophy of submission to nature, to the established church, to the prevailing social order, and to everything that is. The belief in a supernatural agency which ordains everything has led to a certain irresponsibility on the social plane, and emotion and sentimentality have taken the place of reasoned thought and enquiry. Religion, though it has undoubtedly brought comfort to innumerable human beings and stabilised society by its values, has checked the tendency to change and progress inherent in human society.

(*The Discovery of India*)

Violence still powerful

Few of us, I suppose, can say that the era of violence is ever or is likely to end soon. Today violence flourishes in its intenses and most destructive and inhuman form, as never before. It will die or it will kill a good part of the world.

(*The Unity of India*)

War

Armed might affords no adequate solution for the problems of the world.

The more I live and the more I grow in experience, the more convinced I am of the futility and the wickedness of war as a means of solving a problem.

The consequences of acting in a passion are always bad for an individual; but they are infinitely worse for a nation.

Sri Nehru who inaugurated the Kundha Power House No. I in 1960 is seen in the picture greeted by a woman worker.

Feelings of hatred and violence weaken us.

Those who choose the path of violence have no faith in democracy.

(*Speeches*—1949-53—*from addresses on various occasions*)

Nationalism

Nationalism has a place in each country and should be fostered, but it must not be allowed to become aggressive and come in the way of international development.

(*Independence and After*)

National isolation is neither a desirable nor a possible ideal in a world which is daily becoming more of a unit.

(*India and the World*)

The only possibility of achieving real peace lies in gerater and greater international co-operation on every plane.

(*Independence and After*)

The narrow outlook of nationalism has made us think of separate countries far mere than of the oneness of the world and the common interests of different countries.

(*Glimpses of World History*)

Nationalism is a narrowing creed, and nationalism in conflict with a dominating imperialism produces all manner of frustrations and complexes.

(*The Discovery of India*)

Nationalism is good in its place, but it is an unreliable friend and an unsafe historian. It blinds us to many happenings and sometimes distorts the truth, especially when it concerns us or our country.

(*Glimpses of World History*)

Most precious thing

You may have many gifts and presents but there is nothing more precious than the love and the affection of the people.

(*Speech at a banquet to Lord and Lady Mountbatten on their departure from India, New Delhi, June* 20, 1948)

WILL AND TESTAMENT

Following are some extracts from the Will and Testament of Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, dated 21st June 1954.

I have received so much love and affection from the Indian people that nothing that I can do can repay even a small fraction of it, and indeed there can be no repayment of so precious a thing as affection. Many have been admired, some have been revered, but the affection of all classes of the Indian people has come to me in such abundant measure that I have been overwhelmed by it. I can only express the hope that in the remaining years I may live, I shall not be unworthy of my people and their affection.

To my innumerable comrades and colleagues, I owe an even deeper debt of gratitude. We have been joint partners in great undertakings and have shared the triumphs and sorrows which inevitably accompany them.

No religious ceremony

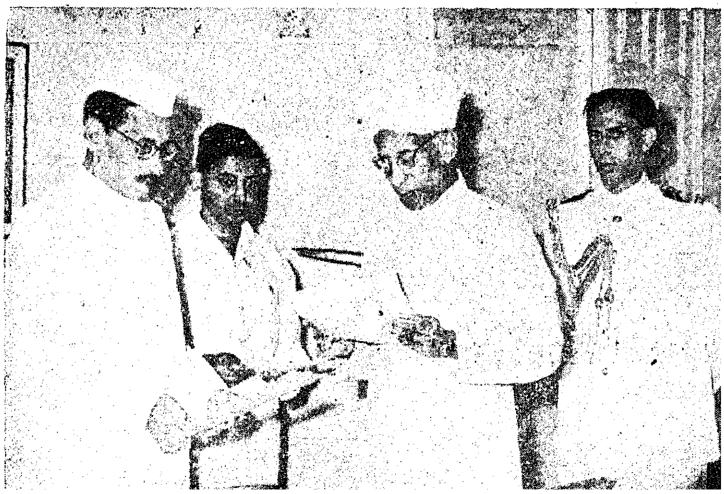
I wish to declare with all earnestness that I do not want any religious ceremonies performed for me after my death. I do not believe in any such ceremonies and to submit to them, even as a matter of form, would be hypocrisy and an attempt to delude ourselves and others.

When I die, I should like my body to be cremated. If I die in a foreign country, my body should be cremated there and my ashes sent to Allahabad. A small handful of these ashes should be thrown into the Ganga and the major portion of them disposed of in the manner indicated below. No part of these ashes should be retained or preserved.

Attachment to Ganga

My desire to have a handful of my ashes thrown into the Ganga at Allahabad has no religious significance, so far as I am concerned. I have no religious sentiment in the matter. I have been attached to the Ganga and the Jamna rivers in Allahabad ever since my childhood and, as I have grown older, this attachment has also grown. I have watched their varying moods as the seasons changed, and have often thought of the history and myth and tradition and song and story that have become attached to them through the long ages and become part of their flowing waters. The Ganga, especially, is the river of India, beloved of her people, round which are intertwined her racial memories, her hopes and fears, her songs of triumph, her victories and her defeats. She has been a symbol of India's age-long culture and civilisation, ever-changing, ever-flowing, and yet ever the same Ganga. She reminds me of the snow-covered peaks and the deep valleys of the Himalayas, which I have loved so much, and of the rich and vast plains below, where my life and work have been cast. Smiling and dancing in the morning sunlight, and dark and gloomy and full of mystery as the evening shadows fall; a narrow, slow and graceful stream in winter, and a vast roaring thing during the monsoon, broad-bosomed

The President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, administering in New Delhi on May 27. 1964, the oaths of office and secrecy to Sri Gulzarilal Nanda, who was appointed interim Prime Minister.



Sri Nehru with Smt. Indira Gandhi in the All India Congress Committee Session held at Madurai in 1961.

almost as the sea, and with something of the sea's power to destroy the Ganga has been to me a symbol and memory of the past of India, running into the present, and flowing on to the great ocean of the future. And though I have discarded much of past tradition and custom, and am anxious that India should rid herself of all shackles that bind and constrain her and divide her people, and suppress vast numbers of them, and prevent the free development of the body and the spirit; though I seek all this, yet I do not wish to cut myself off from the past completely. I am proud of that great inheritance that has been, and is, ours, and I am conscious that I too, like all of us, am a link in that unbroken chain which goes back to the dawn of history in the immemorial past of India. That chain I would not break, for I treasure it and seek inspiration from it. And as witness of this desire of mine and as my last homage to India's cultural inheritance, I am making this request that a handful of my ashes be thrown into the Ganga at Allahabad to be carried to the great ocean that washes India's shore.

Ashes

The major portion of my ashes should, however, be disposed of otherwise. I want these to be carried high up into the air in an aeroplane and scattered from that height over the fields where the peasants of India toil, so that they might mingle with the dust and soil of India and become an indistinguishable part of India.

LONDON'S HIGHEST HONOUR

The Honorary Freedom of the City of London—the highest honour that London can bestow—was conferred on Nehru on July 3rd 1956, in the presence of the Court of Common Council in Guild Hall during his visit to the British Capital for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.

The New Prime Minister—A Profile

Sixty-year old Lal Bahadur Shastri, who becomes India's new Prime Minister, was one of the late Prime Minister Nehru's most trusted colleagues. It was to him that Nehru turned when his failing health made it necessary for him to find some one to share with him his burden. Lal Bahadur embarks upon his new task with a first hand knowledge of problems that he will be called upon to tackle as Prime Minister.

Capacity for compromise

Apart from the important role Lal Bahadur played as a member of successive Nehru Cabinets since 1952, he has been the Government of India's and the Congress Party's co-ordinator, conciliator and compromiser, and late Prime Minister leaned heavily on him in resolving what, at times, seemed irreconcilable differences, either within the Government or in the Congress organisation. Late Mr. Purushottamdas Tandon, one of his early associates, described Shastri as a genious " in striking balances, handling difficult situations and achieving compromises". Whether it were dissensions between U.P. and Madhya Pradesh or dispute over the selection of a State Legislative Party's leader or a sensitive problem like the one in Kashmir, Lal Bahadur's capacity for compromise found an acceptable solution.

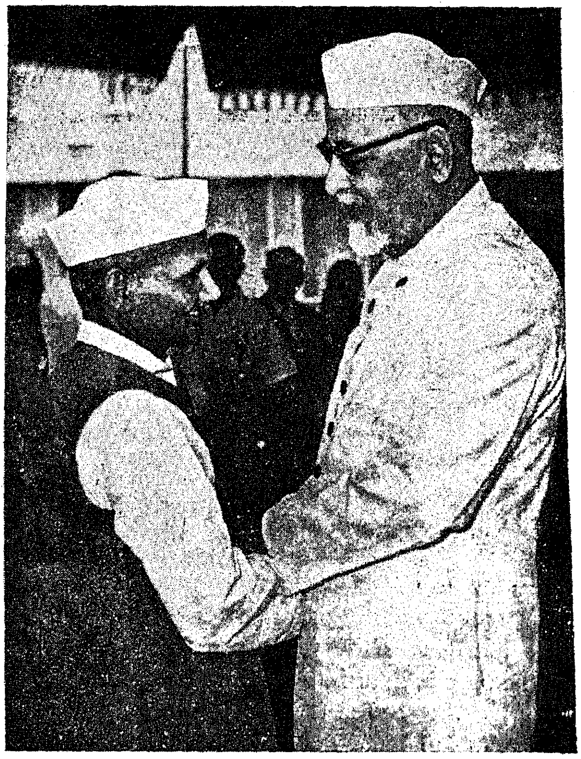
This role he may be said to have inherited from his predecessor in the office of Home Minister, the late Govind Ballabh Pant, under whom he served his political apprenticeship. Pandit Pant picked him up as his Parliamentary Secretary in 1947. when the former was Premier of U.P., because Shastri was " likeable, hardworking, devoted and trustworthy ". Shastri continued to display these qualities in his association with Nehru during the latter's life-time.

Student of Kasi Vidyapeeth

Lal Bahadur was born in 1904 at Mughalsarai in Varanasi District of Uttar Pradesh. His father, Sri Sharda Prasad, was a school teacher who subsequently became a Government official. When Lal Bahadur was only a year and half old his father died and he along with his two sisters was brought up by his maternal grandfather, who arranged for his early education at the Harish Chandra School in Varanasi. He studied at this school up to the age of seventeen when in response to Gandhiji's appeal to students to boycott schools and colleges, he decided to give up studies and joined non-co-operation movement, during which he was arrested.

After his release from Jail in 1921, he entered Kashi Vidyapeeth at Varanasi and came under the influence of the great philosopher Dr. Bhagwandas. He graduated from Kashi Vidyapeeth, taking the Shastri degree.

On the conclusion of his studies he returned to active politics.



Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri with the Vice-President, Dr. Zakir Husain.

When he was 23, he married Lalita Devi and they have four sons and two daughters.

In 1926 he became a life-member of the Servants of People Society and shifted his field of activities to Allahabad. He became intimately associated with civic life of Allahabad and was elected to the Allahabad Municipal Board which he served for seven years as its member. He was also a member of the Allahabad Improvement Trust for about four years.

A great organiser

Lal Bahadur soon came to occupy important organisational posts in the Congress. He was General Secretary and later President of the Allahabad District Congress Committee from 1930 to 1936. For three years, from 1935 he was General Secretary of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee. When the Congress entered provincial legislature in 1937, Lal Bahadur was elected to the U.P. Legislative Assembly.

One of Lal Bahadur Shastri's pleasant memories is that of December 1929 when as a young Congressman of 25, he saw the Congress adopt complete independence as its goal. The man who moved that resolution was subsequently to be one whom Lal Bahadur Shastri was to succeed as Prime Minister.

Shastri participated in all the mass movements launched by the Congress during 1921 and 1942 and was jailed seven times, spending more than nine years in prison.

In 1946, he again returned to the U.P. Legislature and was appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Chief Minister. He was soon promoted as Minister for Home and Transport, which protfolio he held for about five years. It was as Home Minister in U.P., that Nehru realised his potential abilities and asked him if he could resign the provincial post to work in a wider field.

In 1951, the Congress party was fighting the first General Elections in independent India and needed some one who would organise the election campaigns on an all-India basis. Nehru called Lal Bahadur to New Delhi to organise the Congress election campaign and appointed him as the Congress Party's General Secretary. The sweeping victory that the Congress secured at the polls in the elections was in no small measure due to the organising capacity and untiring efforts of Lal Bahadur Shastri.

The new Parliament found Lal Bahadur Shastri as a Member of the Rajya Sabha in 1952. In May the same year he was appointed as Union Minister for Transport and Railways. Four years later, in November 1956, he resigned his Ministership because he felt that he was constitutionally responsible for a railway accident at Ariyalur in which more than 150 lives were lost. This decision was fully appreciated by Parliament and by the country. The late Prime Minister Nehru, speaking in Parliament on the occasion said that Mr. Lal Bahadur was a man of highest integrity with devotion to high ideals. He said that he was accepting Lal Bahadur's resignation because it would set an example in constitutional propriety and not because Lal Bahadur was in any way responsible for what had happened.

It was on this occasion that Lal Bahadur revealed a facet if his character which is not generally well-known. Behind his soft exterior lies a firmness of purpose and will. Replying to the two-hour debate on the railway accident which occasioned his resignation, Lal Bahadur said, on November 27, 1956, "Perhaps due to my being small in size and soft in tongue, people are apt to believe that I am not able to be very firm with them. Though not physically strong, I think I am internally not so weak ".

Agro-Industrial combination

He was, however, not to remain outside the Government for long. In 1957, when the Second General Elections took place, he was elected to the Lok Sabha. On April 17, 1957, he was appointed Minister for Transport and Communications and in March 1958, Minister for Commerce and Industry. While he held the latter portfolio he prepared a scheme for agro-industrial integration. Combination of industry with agriculture, he thought, would solve the problem of unemployment in rural areas. He wanted village industries to be converted into small-scale industries over a period of 20 to 30 years. This scheme became the basis of subsequent progress in this field.

On the death of Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant, Lal Bahadur Shastri took over the Ministry of Home Affairs on April 4, 1961, thus stepping into the shoes of this political preceptor.

While looking after the immense responsibilities that are the Home Minister's in India, Lal Bahadur's qualities as a negotiator and compromiser came

into play in resolving the acute language controversy in Assam. He cemented the relationship between Assamese and Bengalis in that State on an enduring basis.

No less successful was his goodwill mission to Nepal in March 1963. For some time past, the relations between Nepal and India had tended to be clouded by misunderstandings and Lal Bahadur Shastri's qualities of persuasion and his sincerity of purpose were able to assuage all fears that Nepal might have had and ever since then the relations between the two countries have been most cordial.

Last assignment

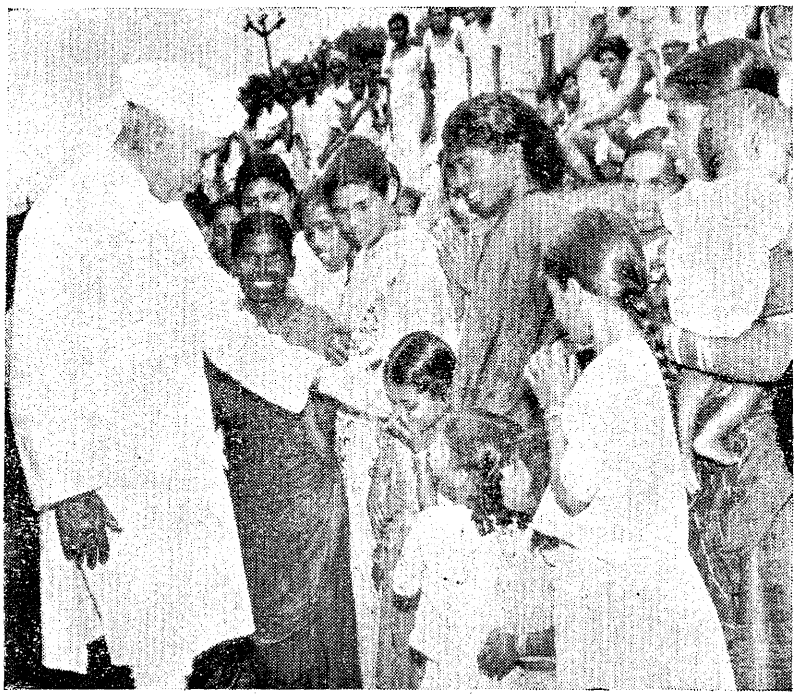
In August 1963, he gave up office to take up Congress organisational work under the Kamaraj Plan, but returned to the Cabinet as Minister without Portfolio on 24th January 1964.

One of his assignments on rejoining the Cabinet was to tackle the situation that had arisen in Kashmir as a result of the theft of the Holy Relic from Hazratbal Mosque. It was a problem that was pregnant with dangerous possibilities and needed for its solution the greatest tact and foresight, which Lal Bahadur brought to bear on it and the entire episode ended peacefully due to his efforts.

Lal Bahadur has written a biography of Madame Curie in Hindi. His other interests include swimming, badminton and table tennis and he shares Jawaharlal Nehru's abounding love for children. Whenever he can find time from his multifarious preoccupations, he spends it mostly in playing with children. Recently he remarked "I am so short that no body likes to play with me. I, therefore, turn to children".

Shastri has a fine sense of humour, a ready wit and quick repartee. When invited to distribute prizes at a Children's function he began his speech by saying: "I have been called at the function because of my size".

Persuasive but firm, humble but tough, Shastri assumes his new office with a long and intimate experience of Indian politics and administration.



Sri Nehru who inaugurated the Parambikulam Project in 1961 is seen with villagers on the way.

NEW CABINET

The President has appointed Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri to be the Prime Minister. Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri will also be Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy.

On the advice of the Prime Minister, the President has appointed the following persons to be members of the Council of Ministers :—

MEMBERS OF THE CABINET.

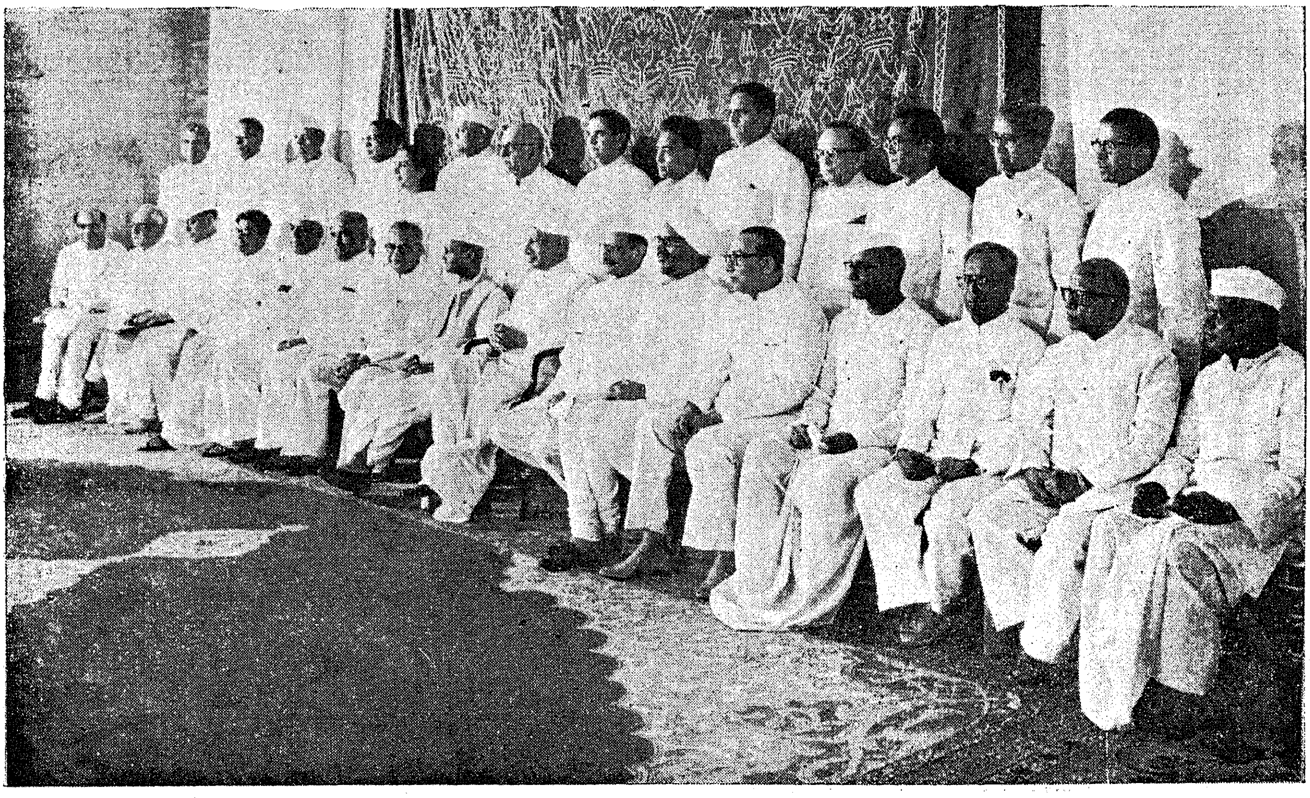
1. Sri Gulzarilal Nanda.	Minister of Home Affairs.
2. Sri T.T.Krishnamachari.	Minister of Finance.
3. Srimati Indira Gandhi.	Minister of Information and Broadcasting.
4. Sardar Swaran Singh..	Minister of Industry (including Heavy Engineering and Technical Development).
5. Sri S. K. Patil ..	Minister of Railways.
6. Sri Asohk Kumar Sen.	Minister of Law and Social Security.
7. Sri Y. B. Chavan ..	Minister of Defence.
8. Sri Sanjiva Reddy ..	Minister of Steel and Mines.
9. Sri C. Subramaniam ..	Minister of Food and Agriculture.
10. Sri Humayun Kabir ..	Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals.
11. Sri Satya Narayan Sinha.	Minister of Communications and Parliamentary Affairs.
12. Sri H. C. Dasappa ..	Minister of Irrigation and Power.
13. Sri M. C. Chagla ..	Minister of Education.
14. Sri D. Sanjivayya ..	Minister of Labour and Employment.
15. Sri Mahavir Tyagi ..	Minister of Rehabilitation.

MINISTERS OF STATE.

1. Sri Mehr Chand Khanna.	Minister of Works and Housing.
2. Sri Manubhai Shah ..	Minister of Commerce (including Textiles and Jute).
3 Sri Nityanand Kanungo.	Minister of Civil Aviation.
4. Sri Raj Bahadur ..	Minister of Transport (excluding Civil Aviation).
5. Sri S. K. Dey ..	Minister of Community Development and Co-operation.
6. Dr. Sushila Nayar ..	Minister of Health.
7. Sri Jai Sukh Lal Hathi.	Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs.
8. Srimati Lakshmi N. Menon.	Minister of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
9. Sri K. Raghu Ramaiah.	Minister of Supply in the Ministry of Industry.
10. Sri O. V. Alagesan ..	Minister of State in the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals.
11. Dr. Ram Subhag Singh.	Minister of State in the Ministry of Railways.
12. Sri R. M. Hajarnavis.	Minister of Cultural Affairs in the Ministry of Education.
13. Dr. K. L. Rao ..	Minister of State in the Ministry of Irrigation and Power.
14. Sri B. R. Bhagat ..	Minister of Planning; shall also be Minister of State in the Ministry of finance in the Dept. of Co-odrination.
15. Sri A. M. Thomas ..	Minister of Defence Production in the Ministry of Defence.

DEPUTY MINISTERS.

1.	Dr. Mana Mohan Das.	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Rehabilitation.
2.	Sri Shah Nawaz Khan.	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Food and Agricul ture.
3.	Sri S. V. Ramaswamy.	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Commerce.
4.	Sri Ahmed Mohiuddin.	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Transport.
5.	Sri B. S. Murthy ..	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Community Deve- lopment and Co- operation.
6.	Sri Lalit Narayan Mishra.	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs.
7.	Smt. Soundaram Ramachandran,	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education.
8.	Sri D. R. Chavan ..	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Food and Agricul- ture.
9.	Sri C. R. Pattabi Raman.	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.
10.	Smt. Maragatham Chandrasekhar.	Deputy Minister in the Department of Social Security.
11.	Sri Jaganath Rao ..	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Law.
12.	Sri Sham Nath ..	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Railways.
13.	Dr. D. S. Raju ..	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Defence.
14.	Sri Dinesh Singh ..	Deputy Minister in the Ministry or External Affairs.
15.	Sri Bibudhendra Misra.	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Industries.
16.	Sri B. C. Bhagvaati.	Deputy Minister in the Department of Communication.
17.	Sri Shyam Dhar Misra.	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Irrigation and Power.
18.	Sri Prakash Chandra Sethi.	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Steel and Mines.
19.	Sri Ratanlal Kishori- lal Malviya.	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Labour and Employment.
20.	Sri Bhakt Darshan.	Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education.



The President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, with the Prime Minister Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri and the members of his Cabinet, and the Ministers of State after they were sworn in at the Rashtrabati Bhavan, New Delhi, on June 6, 1964.

A Chronology of Sri Nehru's Life

1889—Born in Allahabad (November 14).

1905—Left for England to join Harrow (May).

1907—Entered Trinity College, Cambridge.

1909—Visited Germany and France.

1910—Took his degree with honours in the Natural Sciences Tripos (Chemistry, Geology and Botany).

1912—Barrister-at-Law, Inner Temple.
Returned to India. Started practice at Allahabad High Court. Attended the Bankipore Session of the Congress as a delegate.

1913—Joined the United Provinces' Congress Organisation.

1915—Delivered first public speech in Allahabad at a protest meeting against a new Act muzzling the Press.

1916—Married Kamala Kaul (February).
First meeting with Gandhiji at the Lucknow Congress.

1917—Joined the Home Rule Movement.
Daughter Indira was born (November 19).

1918—Became member of the All-India Congress Committee.

1919—Assisted C. R. Das in the inquiry into the Punjab disturbances.

1921—Imprisoned for the first time for distributing notices of a hartal in connection with the visit of Prince of Wales (December 6).

1922—Released from jail (March 3).
Imprisoned again for 'intimidating' dealers of foreign cloth (May 11).

1923—Released (January 31).
Imprisoned in Nabha jail for defying Resident's order asking him to leave the State (September 22).
Released (October 4).
Elected Chairman of the Allahabad Municipal Committee.
Appointed General Secretary of the Indian National Congress at Coconada Session (again in 1924–25; 1927–29).

1925—Resigned from the Chairmanship of Allahabad Muncipality. Kamala fell seriously ill.

1926—Took Kamala to Switzerland for treatment (March).
Visited Italy, France, Germany, Belgium and Russia.

1927—Attended the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities in Brussels as official delegate of the Indian National Congress (February).
Returned from Europe and was instrumental in Committing the Indian National Congress to the goal of independence at the Madras Session (October).

1928—Was lathi-charged while leading a procession against the Simon Commission in Lucknow (November 29).
Founded Independence for India League, which advocated complete severance of the British connection, and was its General Secretary.

1929—Got the All-India Congress Committee to accept the D.P.C.C.'s Socialist Programme.
Presided over Lahore Session of the Congress where Congress goal was changed to complete independence.
Presided over a Nagpur Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress. Raised funds for defending the prisoners of Meerut Conspiracy Case. Published *Letters from a Father to His Daughter.*

1930—Arrested and sentenced to six months' imprisonment for participation in the Salt Satyagraha (April 14).

Released from Naini Central Prison (October 11).

Re-arrested for participating in a peasant conference at Allahabad and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment (October 29).

1931—Released from jail (January 26).

Father Motilal Nehru died (February 6).

Arrested for defying order prohibiting him from leaving Allahabad; sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment (December 26).

1933—Discharged from jail on account of mother's illness (August 30).

1934—Toured earthquake-stricken Bihar and organised relief for sufferers (January).

Arrested at Allahabad for his 'seditious' speeches at Calcutta and sentenced to two years' imprisonment (February 16).

Released to visit Kamala Nehru who had taken seriously ill (August 11) but re-arrested ten days later for making anti-Government speeches.

Published *Glimpses of the World History*.

1935—Completed his *Autobiography* in Almora District Jail (February 14).

Released because of Kamala Nehru's critical condition (September 4) and flew to Europe to be with her.

1936—Kamala Nehru expired (February 28).

Visited London and Rome also.

Presided over the 49th Session of the Congress held at Lucknow (April 23).

Agreed to the Congress contesting the elections under the Government of India Act, 1935, but opposed acceptance of Office.

Formed and drafted provisional constitution of the Indian Civil Liberties Union and took active interest in its work (June 2).

Toured the Country extensively on an election campaign.

Presided over the Indian National Congress Session at Faizpur (December 26).

1938—Mother Swarup Rani died.

Became Chairman of the National Planning Committee.

Visited Spain during the Civil War.

1939—Visited China.

1940—Arrested during the Individuals Satyagraha Movement (October 31) and sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment.

1941—Relesaed from jail (December).

1942—Discussions with Chiang-Kai-Shek in India.

Participated in the negotiations started by Stafford Cripps for settlement with India.

Moved the famous 'Quit India' resolution at the A.I.C.C.

Arrested along with Gandhihji and Members of the Congress Working Committee, and taken to Ahmednagar Fort (August 8).

1944—Started writing *Discovery of India* (April 13).

1945—Released from jail (January 15).

Participated in the Simla talks for settlement with the British Government (June 25).

Organised legal defence for officers and men of the I.N.A.

1946—Published *Discovery of India* (March).

Toured South East Asia.

Elected Congress President for the fourth time (May 9).

Accepted Viceroy's invitation to form an Interim Government (August 17), sworn in as Vice-President and Member in-charge of External Affairs (September 2).

Visited N.W.F.P. (October).

Visited London to discuss with the British Government certain interpretations of the Cabinet Mission Plan (December).

Moved the Objectives Resolution in the Constituent Assembly (December 30).

1947—Presided over the Indian Science Congress at Delhi (January 3).

Inaugurated the Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi (March 23).

Became Independent India's first Prime Minister (August 15).

Visited riot affected areas in the Punjab with Liaqat Ali Khan and Sardar Patel (August 31).

Sri Nehru who inaugurated the Women's Welfare Conference at the Gandhi Mantap in 1961 is seen in the picture fondling a child.

1948—Propounded in the Constituent Assembly India's new foreign policy based on non-alignment, freedom to judge all issues on merit (February 17).

Laid the foundation stone of the Hirakud Dam (April 12).

Inaugurated the Third Session of the United Nations Economic Commission of Asia and the Far East at Ootacamund (June 2).

Addressed the first meeting of the Atomic Energy Commission (August 20).

Inaugurated the first meeting of the Regional Committee of the WHO for South East Asia (October 4).

Attended the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London which led to the continued membership of the Republican India in the Commonwealth (October 6).

Addressed the Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris (November 3).

Inaugurated the Asian Regional Conference of the International Meterological Organisation at New Delhi (November 10).

Inaugurated the Silver Jubilee Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission in New Delhi (December 23).

1949—Inaugurated the 19-Nation Asian Conference to condemn the Dutch Aggression on Indonesia (January 20).

Attended the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference (April 19).

Called on Pakistan to join India in a " No-war " declaration (September 24).

Left India on an official visit to the U.S.A. (October 7). Addressed the U.S. Congress also addressed the Trusteeship Committee of the U.N. General Assembly (October 19).

Visited Canada and addressed both Houses of the Canadian Parliament at Ottawa (October 24).

Awarded American Spirgarn Medal for services in the Negro cause (November 6).

1950—Addressed the Annual Convocation of the University of Ceylon, Colombo (January 12).

Laid the foundation stone of the National Stadium, New Delhi (January 19).

Inaugurated the Supreme Court of India (January 28).

Planning Commission, with Nehru as its Chairman, set up (March).

Received the Prime Minister of Pakistan and signed the Nehru-Liaqat Ali Agreement on minorities.

Inaugurated the Indian Council for Cultural Relations in New Delhi (April 9).

Visited Karachi at the invitation of Pakistan Government (April 26).

Issued an appeal to the Big Three calling for a speedy end to the Korean War (July 14).

Laid the foundation stone of the Sapru House, New Delhi (October 20).

1951—Visited Cairo, Geneva, London and Paris. Official visit to Nepal (June 11).

Elected President of All-India Congress (September 9) and presided over the 57th Session of Congress at Delhi (October 18).

Addressed International Statistical Conference at New Delhi (December 5).

Performed opening ceremony of Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad (December 16).

1952—Signed Indo-Syrian Treaty (February 25).

Inaugurated the Silver Jubilee Session of the Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry at New Delhi (March 29).

Participated in the International Buddhist Conference held at Sanchi.

1953—Participated in the World Gandhian Seminar held in New Delhi (January 9).

Presided over the Hyderabad Session of the Indian National Congress (January 17-18).

Attended Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II (May 28).

Visited Karachi at the invitation of Government of Pakistan (July 25).

Inaugurated Nationalised Air Corporation (August 1).

Opened the deliberations of the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan at New Delhi (October 13).

1954—Received Sir John Kotelawala, Prime Minister of Ceylon (January 15).

Inaugurated the Institute of Public Administration in New Delhi (March 29).

Paid a week's visit to Ceylon (April 27—May 3).

Received Chinese Premier, Mr. Chou En-lai (June 25).

Issued joint statement embodying the Five Principles of Co-existence, *Panchsheel* (June 25).

Visited China (October).

Received President Tito of Yugoslavia (December 17).

Visited Burma, Thailand, Indonesia and Malaya.

1955—Received in New Delhi the U.N. Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjoeld (January 3).

Attended the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference and called on Queen Elizabeth (January-February).

Received Prince Norodom Sihanouk and Mr. Leng Ngeth, Prime Minister of Cambodia (March 17).

Welcomed to India Mr. U Nu, Burmese Prime Minister (March 25).

Met Egyptian Premier Nasser and his Party (April 13).

Attended Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung (April 15–25).

Received Emir Faisal, Prime Minister of Saudi Arabia in New Delhi (May 2).

Laid foundation stone of National Museum in New Delhi (May 12).

Held talks with Pakistan Prime Minister, Mohamad Ali and Interior Minister, Major General Iskander Mirza (May 13–18).

Left on a tour of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Italy and Egypt (June 5) and conferred with Premier Nasser of Egypt in Cairo.

'Bharat Ratna' conferred (July 15).

Met President Sukarno (July 19).

Signed joint statement with the Crown Prince and the Prime Minister of Laos emphasising the need for implementation of Geneva Agreement on Laos (September 21).

Inaugurated Hindustan Machine Tools Factory at Bangalore (October 6).

Welcomed to India the Russian Prime Minister, Marshal Bulganin and the then First Secretary of the Russian Communist Party, Mr. N. Khrushchev (November 18).

Welcomed King Saud of Saudi Arabia to India (November 28).

Laid foundation stone of Nagarjunasagar Project (December 10).

1956—Had meetings with Selwyn Llyod, the British Foreign Secretary, John Foster Dulles, the U.S. Secretary of State, the French Foreign Minister, Christian Pineau and First Deputy Prime Minister of Soviet Russia, Mr. Mikoyan (March).

Signed an agreement with Canada for the establishment of Atomic Reactor in Bombay (April 28).

Attended the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference in London (June 27—July 6) and later visited Ireland, West Germany, France, Yugoslavia, Greece, Egypt, Syria, and the Lebanon.

Held discussions with President Nasser and President Tito in Brioni (July 18—20).

1956—Temporarily took over the Finance Portfolio (July 23).

Sounded a warning against the use of force in solving the Suez Canal question (July 23) and sent a message to U.N. Secretary-General urging swift U.N. action against Anglo-French Israeli aggression against Egypt (October 31).

Involved in a jeep accident near Anjar, Saurashtra (August 18).

Addressed the delegates to the Ninth UNESCO Conference in Delhi (November 5).

Participated in the Colombo Powers Prime Ministers' Conference in New Delhi on Egyptian situation (November 12–14).

Discussed in New Delhi with Chinese Premier Chou En-lai the border dispute between the two Governments and Chou En-lai accepted the formalisation of MecMohan Line (November 28).

Visited U.S. A., Canada and Europe (December) addressed an informal meeting of the members of the U.N. General Assembly (December 20).

Held talks with Chou En-lai during the latter's visit (December 30, 1956—January 2, 1957).

1957—Visited Nalanda with Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama for final ceremonies of the 2500th Anniversary of the Buddha's Mahaparinirvana (January 12).

Inaugurated Hirakud Project in Orissa (January 13).

Opened Asia's first Atomic Reactor in Trombay (January 28).

Held talks with Syrian President, Shukri Al-Kuwatli (January 17–19).

Received Marshal Zhukov, Soviet Defence Minister (January 25).

Temporarily took over Defence Portfolio (January 30).

New Central Cabinet headed by Nehru sworn in (April 17).

Left on goodwill visit to Syria, Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden (June).

Attended Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference (June 26 to July 5).

Visited Holland, Egypt and Sudan (July).

Attended Bhoodan Conference on September 20–21 at Yelwal.

Visited Japan (October 4–13).

Addressed Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference in New Delhi (December 2).

1958—Held talks with Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, Mr. William Siroky (January 3–5).

Held discussions with President Sukarno of Indonesia (January 7–8), and with Harold Mac Millan, the British Prime Minister (January 8–10).

Issued joint statement with King Zahir Shah of Afghanistan for a high level meeting to relax international tension (February 13) and later similar statement with Prime Minister of Rumania Mr. Chivu Stoica (March 10).

Expressed desire to retire from Prime Ministership but bowed to unanimous desire of members of party to continue (May 3).

Visited Bhutan (September 16 to October 2).

Opened " India 1958 " exhibition (October 8).

Inaugurated joint meeting of the World Bank, the International Monetory Fund and the International Finance Corporation (October).

1959—Received Prime Minister of Ghana Mr. K. Nkrumah.

Inaugurated International Congress of Jurists (January 5).

Commended socialist way to progress at Nagpur Session of Congress and reaffirmed India's faith in the Panchsheel (January 9).

Held discussion with East German Prime Minister, Otto Grotewohl and President Tito of Yugoslavia (January 12–15).

Addressed Golden Jubilee Session of the Institute of Science at Bangalore (February 4).

Held talks with Sardar Mohd. Daud Khan, Prime Minister of Afghanistan (February 5).

1959—Laid foundation of Indian Institute of Technology (March 10).

Nehru met Dalai Lama at Mussoorie (April 24).

Visited Nepal (July 11–15).

Inaugurated Truck Manufacturing Unit of Gun Carriage Factory, Jubbalpur (July 21).

Held discussions with President Ayub Khan of Pakistan on Indo-Pakistan relations.

Visited Afghanistan (September).

Discussed with Burmese Premier Ne Win relations of India and Burma with China.

1960—Met Mr. Chou En-lai in New Delhi and decided to get the respective view points examined at official level, making every effort to avoid friction (April).

Attended the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London and visited Paris, Egypt, Turkey and Lebanon (May).

Signed the Indus Water Treaty with Pakistan (September 19).

Attended the U.N. 'Summit' General Assembly Session as leader of Indian delegation (September-October) and urged renewal of contacts between USA and USSR.

Inaugurated Kundah Hydro-Electric Project, Madras State.

Inaugurated States of Maharashtra and Gujarat.

Visited Paris.

Condemned Sharpeville and Langa massacres in South Africa.

Visited Egypt, Turkey, Lebanon, Syria and West Pakistan.

Held talks with Field Marshal Ayub Khan.

Addressed U.N. General Assembly stressing the need for World peace.

1961—Inaugurated formally the Canada-India Nuclear Reactor at Bombay (January 16).

Said at a news conference in New Delhi that India was definite that China had committed aggression on India's northern borders, and it was wrong on the part of Pakistan to agree to discuss with China the question of demarcating the Kashmir border (January 18).

Inaugurated W.H.O. session in New Delhi (February 7).

Held talks with Maharaja of Bhutan (February 8–13).

Attended the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference (March).

Attended the summit meeting of the non-aligned nations at Belgrade (September).

Inaugurated the first Asian History Congress in New Delhi (December 9).

Inaugurated Bhakra Power House in Punjab (December 10).

Met the Paramount Ruler of Malaya (December 8) and President Brezhnev of Russia (December 13).

1962—Inaugurated Noonmati Oil Refinary in Assam (January 1).

Inaugurated the 49th session of the Indian Science Congress (January 3).

Met Burmese Premier U Nu (January 11).

Inaugurated Commonwealth Education Conference (January 11).

Pressed into service the first India made Nissan patrol Vehicle (January 24).

Met President Kempmann of Denmark (January 18) and Vice-President Amer of UAR (January 24).

Invited to form New Government after the Third General Elections and the new Cabinet sworn in (April 10).

Met King Mahendra of Nepal (April 18).

Presided over the National Integration Council meeting (June 2 and 3).

Visited Paris and Cairo after attending Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference (September).

Addressed UNESCO in Paris (September 21)

Received President of the Council of the State of the Rumanian People's Republic (October 17).

Gave a call to the nation to meet Chinese aggression unitedly (October 22).

Wrote to Chinese Premier that India could not agree when actual and new aggression was taking place and called upon China to restore status quo as it was prior to September 8, 1962 (October 27).

1962—Sent messages to various Heads of Governments on the situation created by renewed armed aggression of Chinese forces on Indian territory launched on September 8 (October 26/27).

Received Tengku Abdul Rahman, the Malayan Prime Minister (October 27).

Received President of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios (October 31).

Took over Defence portfolio temporarily (November 1).

Issued joint statement with President Ayub Khan of Pakistan re-affirming determination to resolve their differences (November 30).

1963—Ghana on Colombo proposals on Sino-Indian Dispute (January 10–13).

Moved resolution in Lok Sabha for acceptance of Colombo proposals (January 23).

Inaugurated Village Volunteer Force (January 25).

Received Lebaness Premier Mr. Rashid Karame (January 15) and Sihanouk of Combodia (January 28).

Opened Ladakh Vihara near Delhi (Feb.)

Commissioned Lokmanya, first electric loco (February.)

U.N. accepted Nehru's proposal to make 1965 as year of Co-operation (October).

Dedicated Bhakra Dam to the nation (October).

Inaugurated Pinjore plant (October).

Met Laotian Premier in Delhi (November).

Inaugurated conference of envoys to African countries (November).

Commissioned first A. C. Electric Loco at Chitranjon (November).

King Hussain of Jordan met Nehru (December).

1964—Laid foundation stone/Orissa's Tikkarpara Dam Project (January).

Taken ill during the Bhubaneshwar Session of the Congress (January).

General Ne Win, Chairman of the Burmese Revolutionary Council, met Nehru (February).

Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew met Nehru (February).

Met King Mahindra of Nepal on the occasion of foundation stone laying ceremoney of the Kosi and Gandak Projects (May).

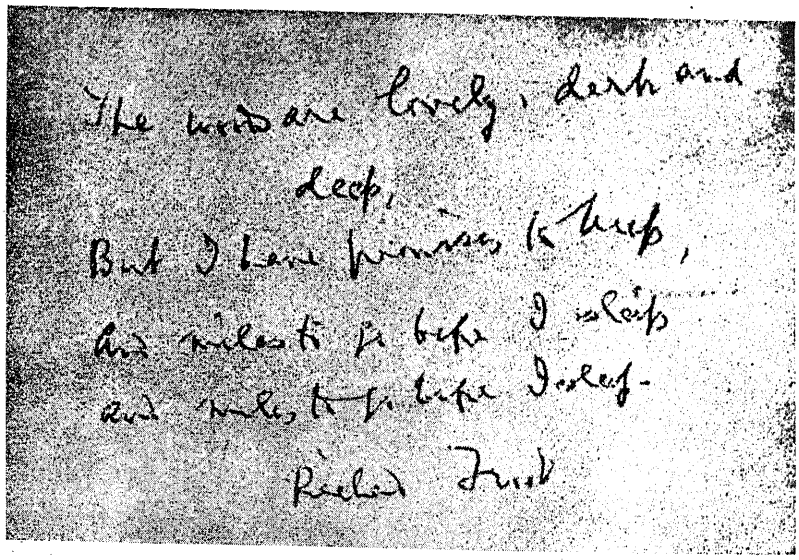
Met Sudanese President Farik Ibrahim Abboud (May).

Visited Dehra Dun for rest (May 23-26).

Light went out (May 27).

NEHRU'S FAVOURITE VERSE

These lines which are the last verse of a poem by the famous American poet, Robert Frost, were written in Panditji's own handwriting on a little pad which lay on his work-table for the past year.



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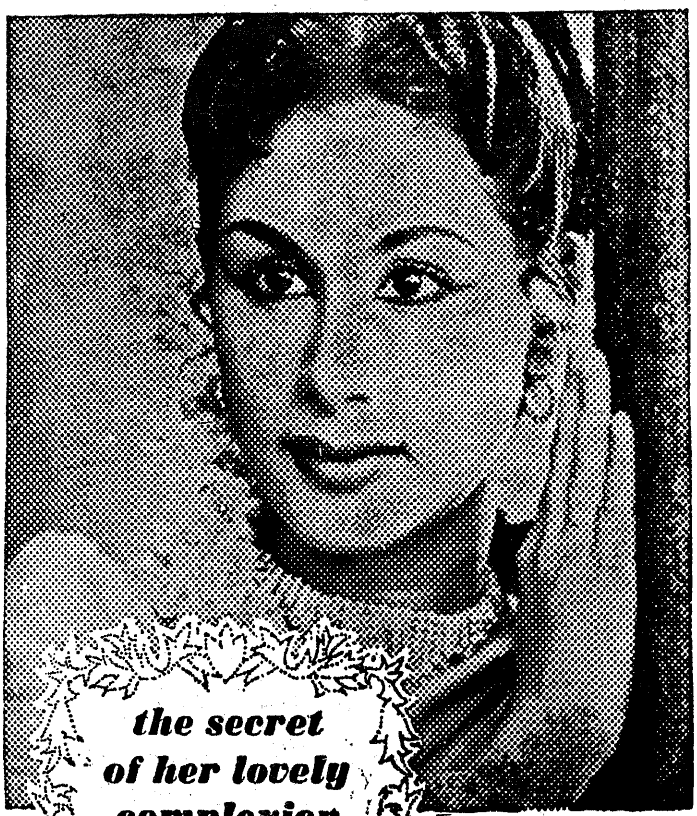

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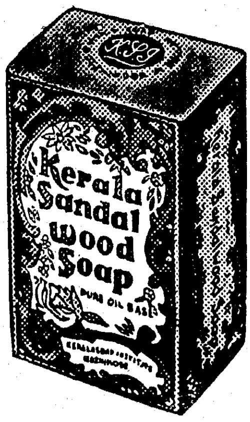

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